THE

CLERGY REVIEW

THE GOSPEL OF THE THIRD CHRISTMAS MASS

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T is one of many happy coincidences in our existing liturgical arrangement of offices that the Gospel which crowns the third and most sublime of the Christmas Masses is also the Gospel which is normally recited at the end of every offering of the Holy Sacrifice. Almost needless to add, the present arrangement is not of long standing. St. John's Prologue, which has from time immemorial been the object of special veneration among Christians, is the latest of all comers as a permanent addition to the ordinary of the Mass. The principal reason for its gradual introduction into the liturgy was, no doubt, as Mgr. Ludwig Eisenhofer has suggested,1 the widespread desire to make a final act of faith and hope in the Incarnate Word, "full of grace and truth," so recently present upon the altar under the sacramental species. The coincidence just noted may, however, supply a motive for a special study of the Johannine Prologue both at Christmastime and throughout the year. No continuous section of the Gospels is so frequently read in church as the first fourteen verses of St. John, and those of us who, like Fr. Martindale, "love St. John's Gospel beyond all other Christian literature (and Christian literature beyond all other in the world)," would probably agree by a large majority that not even the discourses after the Supper could ever surpass the Prologue in our estimation.

The version of the Prologue which follows is arranged

¹ Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik, Freiburg, 1933, II, pp. 224-6.

² Princes of His People: I. St. John the Evangelist, 1920, p. 3. Burns Oates & Washbourne.

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in what have come to be known as "sense-lines," but the purpose of the present arrangement is not to show the exact order of the words in the original Greek or to bring out the alleged rhythmical structure of some of the sentences. Further, the attempt made by some recent authorities (notably Drs. Burney and Bernard) to prove that part of the Prologue was written in verse and part in prose, has not been considered. The present version and its grouping are intended simply to facilitate an approach to one of the world's greatest masterpieces of compact expression and profound meaning. Similarly, the notes that follow are not intended as a complete commentary. They tend in the main to justify, so far as space will permit, the choice of readings adopted in the translation and to point to some possible alternative renderings.

The principal works to which reference is made, and on which this study largely depends, are Père M.-J. Lagrange's Evangile selon Saint Jean, the late Dr. J. H. Bernard's two-volume Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John in the "International Critical Commentary" and, most of all, the relevant section of Studia Joannea by Père J. M. Vosté, O.P., 6 a section originally published in 1925 under the title De Prologo Joanneo et Logo. I have made what I hope is a discriminating use of the late Professor C. F. Burney's monograph on The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel. Thas been very generally recognized by students of the subject that Dr. Burney failed to prove his case that the Fourth Gospel in its present form was a translation from the Aramaic, and the appearance of Dr. Ernest Colwell's The Greek of the Fourth Gospel: a study of its Aramaisms in the light of Hellenistic Greek⁸ may be considered to have finally disposed of Burney's main contention. The Oxford professor's thesis does, however, retain some of its value, not indeed

³ For a reasonably full account of colometry, see *The Memoirs* of St. Peter by Fr. J. A. Kleist, S.J., Milwaukee, 1932, pp. 24 ff.

⁴ Paris, 1925.

⁵ Edinburgh, 1928.

⁶ Rome, 1930.

⁷ Oxford, 1922.

⁸ Chicago, 1931.

as an argument for an Aramaic original, but as an argument for the presence of a Semitic mind at the back of the Greek original. It is the verdict of tradition and of the internal evidence provided by the Gospel itself that the writer was John the son of Zebedee, a Jew from Northern Palestine whose native language was Galilean Aramaic and who was an eye-witness of many of the events he recorded. This verdict of antiquity and of constructive criticism is not impaired, but, on the contrary, is notably confirmed by some of the data provided by Professor Burney.

The division of the Prologue into sections follows in principle that adopted by Père Vosté, though there are slight variations in points of detail.

- I. THE WORD IN HIMSELF: VV. 1-5.
 - (a) In His relation with God, 1-2.
- In the beginning was the Word, And the Word was with God, And the Word was God.
- 2. He was in the beginning with God.

In the beginning recalls, no doubt intentionally, Genesis i. 1, but with a difference. In Genesis the beginning is fixed and measured by the creation of the universe and its components; in St. John, the reference is not to the temporal beginning of creatures but to the absolute principium of eternity. True, it emphasizes the Word's pre-existence, but it does more than this. Without infidelity to the author's thought we might paraphrase the words: "In eternity and from all eternity was the Word." We may note the contrast between the "was" of this verse and the "came to be" in verse 3. And the Word was with God. appears to be the best available rendering. The attempt made by Westcott and Liddon (among others) to find some trace of a directional sense (e.g., "looking towards God ") in the use of the preposition pros may be held to have failed. And the Word was God. Theos as the predicate is anarthrous, indicating the divine nature of the Logos, what He is essentially, not who He is personally. The doctrine of this verse is that the Word is eternal, distinct from the Father, yet of one nature with Him. Verse 2 is simply a resumé of verse 1.

(b) In His relation to created things, v. 3.
All things came to be through Him,
And without Him came to be
Nothing that did come to be.

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The doubt has often been expressed whether the words: "That did come to be" (ho gegonen) should not go with what follows, i.e., whether we should not divide our Latin text: "Et sine ipso factum est nihil. Quod factum est in ipso vita erat. There can, of course, be no question that there is considerable evidence in the versions and early writers in favour of this division, as against the division which has become traditional in our liturgical books. If we accept the former division and put a full stop after "nihil," there are three possible interpretations: (a) Certain heretical writers (Arians and Pneumatomachoi) read: "Quod factum est in ipso (i.e., in Verbo), vita erat" that is, something was in the Word which was created. This would, of course, contradict the first verse which teaches that the Word was God, and the third verse which claims that He was the creator of all things. (b) We might read "Quod factum est, in ipso vita erat." this would be ambiguous. Would "in ipso" refer to the Word or to that which came to be? If we adopted the former view, we should translate: "That which came to be, in Him was life." Then we should find in the verse the divine exemplarism of Augustinian Platonism, i.e., before things were in themselves, they already pre-existed in their divine exemplar, the Word. On this the late P. Hadrian Simón, C.SS.R., succinctly remarks: "Pulchra sane et mirabilis doctrina, sed a contextu aliena videtur."9

Or (c), we may follow Loisy and Van Hoonacker in reading: "That which came to be, in it was life," where "that which came to be" would be the created universe and the life would be the life of the Incarnate Word. But, as Vosté has well shown, there are grave difficulties inherent in this view, the only one that seems in any way tenable in the context, if one accepts the division in question. For (i.) there has been as yet no

⁹ Praelectiones Biblicae, Novum Testamentum, Vol. I, p. 121.

¹⁰ Studia Joannea, pp. 41-42. The alternatives are set out more clearly by Père Vosté than by any other writer known to me.

mention of the *Incarnate* Word, since the Forerunner has not yet been brought on to the scene. (ii.) We should expect that "in ipso" would refer to the Word, the subject of the whole passage. But this, as we have said, is unlikely. (iii.) *Ho gegonen* is an improbable form as the subject, still more as a designation of the human race. (iv.) The imperfect $(\bar{e}n)$ would not be used for the act of the Word's coming into the world which, as v. 14 shows, would call for the aorist.

Hence we may propose with confidence the ordinary reading: "Et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est." It is that of the Greek commentators following St. John Chrysostom, and of most moderns (e.g., Lebreton, Lagrange, Durand, Tillmann, etc.). The only serious objection to it, the pleonasm involved, is not indefensible."

- (c) The Word in His relation to men, vv. 4-5.
- In Him was life And the life was the light of men.
- 5. And the light is shining in the darkness, And the darkness has not overcome it.

On verse 4 one should remark that the light is better understood as moral and spiritual than as the natural light of human reason. In verse 5 the chief point to determine is the exact sense of the word katelaben used regarding the darkness. It is translated in our Douay Version: "... and the darkness did not comprehend it." Katalambanō can, of course (1), mean to seize or apprehend whether physically (Mark ix. 18; John viii. 4) or intellectually (Acts x. 34; xxv. 25; Eph. iii. 18). So we might translate: "The darkness did not apprehend it," i.e., did not understand it or appreciate it, and this is the meaning adopted by the Vulgate and by the commentators Tillmann, Knabenbauer and Calmes. It has, however, been suggested that St. Jerome's use of comprehendo proclaims an adversative sense, that of detaining by force. The sense of "understanding,"

¹¹ See the quotation from the Stoic writer Chrysippus cited by Dr. Rendel Harris in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* for January, 1922, and reproduced by Bernard, op. cit., I, p. 4.

¹² Cp. Fr. Martindale's essay "An Evening at Ephesus" in The Goddess of Ghosts, p. 108: "The darkness hath not prisoned it."

moreover, seems to be excluded by the context; darkness as such neither understands nor fails to understand.

Or (2) we might consider the opinion put forward by an eminent Hebraist, Dr. C. J. Ball, 13 that there has been a confusion in translation between the Aphel form aqbel to "darken" and the Pael form qabbel" to take or receive," especially if the construction was the common one of the participle with the substantive verb. In an unvocalized text, there would be no distinction between maqbel "obscuring," and megabbel " receiving." Hence Dr. Ball would render the words: "And the darkness has not obscured it." This rendering would yield excellent sense, but as against it we must note that the Aramaic origin of the Fourth Gospel remains unproved and that there is a simpler explanation than any of those already proposed. This is (3) that katalambanō means here, as often, to "overtake" (e.g., in the papyri, of evil overtaking one). This seems to be the meaning of the verb in John xii. 35. But in various passages, the meaning "overtake" readily passes into "overcome." Herodotus, for example, uses the verb of overcoming or putting out a fire. So the meaning here is that the darkness did not overcome the light at the beginning. The enemies of the truth might cry: "Put out the light, and then put out the light!" but it still shines. "This is not the note of tragedy, but the note of triumph."14

II. ENTRY OF THE WORD INTO THE WORLD, VV. 6-13.

- (a) Mission of John the Forerunner, vv. 6-8.
- 6. There was a man, Sent from God, Whose name was John:
- 7. He came for witness,
 To witness concerning the light,
 That all might believe through him.
- 8. He was not the light,
 But [he came] that he might bear witness
 Concerning the light.

Here we have a description of the Baptist's office. He

¹⁸ Expository Times, November, 1909, p. 93.

¹⁴ Bernard, op. cit., p. 6.

was man like other men, but with a divine commission as an "apostle." His name was Jehôḥānān (Jahweh has been gracious) abbreviated to Jôḥānān, and his character was that of a witness. The idea of witness recurs frequently in the Fourth Gospel; the verb, which occurs once in Matthew and once in Luke, is found thirty-three times in St. John. "Through him" in v. 7 almost certainly refers to St. John the Baptist, not to the Logos. He was not the light; rather he was the light-bearer or the lamp, as our Lord calls him in John v. 35 ("The lamp that burns and shines.") A lamp not only burns, but burns away in giving light. Cp. John iii. 20.

- (b) Present in the world, the Word is rejected by it, vv. 9-11.
 - 9. That was the perfect light, Which, coming into the world, Enlightens every man.
 - He was in the world, And the world came to be through Him, And the world knew Him not.
 - 11. He came into His own home, And His own people welcomed Him not.

The sense and order of v. 9 is, in my judgment, better displayed in Crampon's French version ("La lumière, la vraie, celle qui éclaire tout homme, venait dans le monde ") than in many of our English versions. Here, as in v. 5, there is a marked division of opinion regarding the correct reading. The Latin, Syriac and Coptic versions take erchomenon with anthropon, i.e., the light enlightens every man who comes into the world. It may be allowed that the phrase "all comers into the world" (kol bá'ê 'ôlām) is a common Rabbinic expression for "man." But, if this were the meaning, we should expect rather panta ton erchomenon than panta anthropon erchomenon. Further, the words "coming into the world " would be redundant and would add nothing to "every man." And nowhere else in St. John is the expression "coming into the world" used of a man's birth.

Hence, it seems more natural to take erchomenon with phōs, in spite of the somewhat awkward dislocation of

the order. St. John several times uses the phrase "coming into the world" of Christ's advent (vi. 14; xi. 27; xvi. 28; xviii. 37); elsewhere Christ is spoken of, or speaks of Himself, as the light that has come into the world (iii. 19; xii. 46).

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It is to be remarked that the Word is called "the perfect light" (to phōs to alēthinon), not, as the words are translated in the Douay Version, "the true light." True would be opposed to false, but the perfect light is opposed to imperfect lights. The antithesis of alēthinos is not necessarily "false"; it is imperfect, shadowy or unsubstantial.

V. 11 might refer to Galilee and to our Lord's saying that a prophet has no honour in his own country (Mark vi. 4, see John iv. 44), but it seems to have a wider reference. He came to His own Holy Land, and His own people did not make Him welcome. It is not stated, as our version would have us understand, that His people did not know Him, but that they did not welcome Him. Paralambanō here has the sense of taking a gift from one who offers it. The primary reference of these verses appears to be to "the world's ignorance of the Pre-Incarnate Logos, immanent continuously in nature and in man." But there is, it would seem, some anticipation or interpenetration here of the event which is not explicitly mentioned till v. 14—the Incarnation of the Word.

- (c) On those who receive Him, He confers divine filiation, 12-13.
- 12. But to as many as received Him, To them He gave the right to become children of God, To those believing in His name,
- 13. Who were born not of blood, Nor of carnal desire, Nor of man's initiative, But of God.

V. 12 To as many as received Him, i.e., without distinction of origin or race, since His saving mission had application to all mankind. Exousia is rather "right" than "power" (Douay Version), a juridical faculty or

Bernard, op. cit., I, p. 14.

title. St. John proclaims that this adoptive filiation was not innate in man; "to become children of God" was a divine gift, which men did not possess, in this special sense, by nature.

V. 13 Who were born (or begotten). . . . In the first place, is it singular or plural? In place of the usual qui . . . nati sunt, the old Latin MS. b reads qui . . . This has some patristic support, e.g., of natus est. Irenaeus and possibly of Justin. Tertullian adopts it and says that the ordinary reading is an invention of the Valentinian Gnostics. There are also intrinsic reasons in favour of the singular, which have been emphasized by Lagrange. 16 It is astonishing that St. John should give at such length the details of a natural birth in order to say that they are not those of a spiritual birth. On the other hand, it is easy to see why he would oppose a natural physical birth to a supernatural physical birth, such as was uniquely the Virgin Birth of Jesus our Lord. Again, it is strange that St. John should develop at some length the quality of children of God and yet say nothing of the conception in time of Him who is their prototype. Further, the singular reading would lead up most suitably to the Incarnation in v. 14. Yet, as against these arguments, if there is one doctrine that is especially prominent in the Johannine writings as a whole, it is that of our adoptive sonship (I John ii. 29; iii. 9; iv. 7; v. 4, 18). We may feel that, in the present passage, the Evangelist might have said more about the Logos; ultimately, however (a fact not always appreciated by practitioners of exegesis), the author's judgment and selection of material, not ours, are of paramount importance.

The phrase rendered in the Vulgate "qui non ex sanguinibus" (Gr. ex haimatōn) has several puzzling features. It may be said that either blood stands here, as frequently in ancient writings, for the semen virile, or there is a reference to a doctrine common in Greek physiology that the human embryo was formed from the seed of the father and the blood of the mother, the phenomenon of ovulation having been imperfectly apprehended. So in Wisdom vii. 2: "In the womb of a mother was I moulded into flesh in the time of ten

¹⁶ Saint Jean, pp. 18-19.

months, being coagulated in blood of the seed of man and of the pleasure that accompanies sleep." Aristotle, Pliny and Galen testify to the ancient belief that the male semen coagulated or curdled to form the embryo. A similar doctrine may be found in Job x. 10-11:

10. Hast thou not poured me out like milk? Hast thou not curdled me like cheese?

11. Thou hast clothed me with skin and with flesh. And of bone and of sinew hast thou woven me.

In the "pouring out like milk," St. Thomas recognizes the resolutio seminis; in the "curdling like cheese," he sees the compactio massae corporeae in utero mulieris; in v. 11, the distinctio organorum." The reason for the plural number (ex haimatōn) is not wholly clear. It may refer to the two bloods (the male semen and the female "blood") mingled in the marriage act; or, in accordance with a common Hebrew idiom, it may stand for shed blood, or for drops of blood or semen.

The voluntas carnis is equivalent to the mutual desire of marital intercourse on the part of man and woman; the voluntas viri seems to be best translated by "man's initiative," that is, man, as the master of the marriage-bed, is regarded as the partner who deliberately chooses the time and place of conjugal relations. Nowhere, be it noted, is it said or implied that normal physical procreation is not holy or licit; it is simply affirmed that it is different in its circumstances and conditions from the circumstances and conditions of supernatural birth, the state of those qui . . . ex Deo nati sunt.

III. THE FULL REVELATION OF THE INCARNATE WORD, vv. 14-18.

(a) The Incarnate Word, full of grace and truth, v. 14.

14. And the Word became flesh,

And tabernacled among us. And we beheld His glory,

A glory such as the Only-begotten received from the Father,

Full of grace and truth.

¹⁷ Expositio in librum Sancti Job, in loc. On these verses, see P. Dhorme, Le Livre de Job, Paris, 1927, pp. 135-136.

¹⁸ So Père Abel in his *Grammaire du Grec Biblique*, Paris, 1927, §41, d. 4: "le sang de l'homme et de la femme."

Here we have the full flower of the Johannine teaching on the Word. St. Paul speaks unmistakably of the Incarnation, the Son of God made man (Romans i. 3, viii. 3; Galatians iv. 4; Phil. ii. 7-8, etc.), and of His manifestation in the flesh (1 Timothy iii. 16). St. John adds that the Christ is expressly to be identified with the Word of God in the Jewish literature. Here, as elsewhere (I John iv. 2), he seems to be on his guard against Docetic heresies, the conception of our Lord as a mere phantasm without flesh and blood. In his Gospel, as is well known, he frequently stresses our Lord's humanity and depicts Him as tired and thirsty. or weeping for His friend, or with His spirit troubled in anticipation of His passion. He uses the word sarx for flesh, because flesh in Holy Scripture frequently designates man in his lowly and perishable aspect, and so the word emphasizes the supreme condescension of the Incarnation. As regards egeneto, Dr. Bernard writes: "To explain the exact significance of egeneto in this sentence is beyond the power of any interpreter."19 Yet, given what precedes, we can infer from the verse itself in the context that, as we may exclude any idea of intrinsic change in the Logos, "to become flesh" is the equivalent of "took to Himself flesh." While remaining the Logos, He united Himself to human flesh, so as to be seen among men as true man. St. John does not say "He became a man," because this might have implied too much, namely, complete human personality.

It is not entirely And tabernacled among us. improbable that Maldonatus is right and that this "tabernacling" does nothing more than stress the temporary dwelling of the Eternal Word upon earth. But there seems to be a better reason still. The word eskēnosen recalls the skēnē or tabernacle in the wilderness (Exodus xxv. 8-9) where Jahweh dwelt with Israel. To a Greek-speaking Jew the verb skenoun would inevitably suggest this (Cp. Exodus xl. 31-32; III Kings viii. 10-11). So the phrase lays emphasis upon the fact that the Incarnate Word is our Emmanuel, God with us, as a continuous revelation of God. And we beheld His glory. The word doxa "glory" may as Père Joüon, S.J.,

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¹⁹ Op. cit., I, p. 20.

maintains, 20 be no more than a reference to the divine glory of the earthly life of our Lord as perceived by His loved ones and as manifested pre-eminently in His miracles. But it seems to me more probable that Drs. Burney and Bernard are right, and that the terms employed are connected in St. John's thought with the Jewish doctrine of the Shekînâh (in Aramaic, Shekîntâ) or visible dwelling of Jahweh with His people, typified by the pillar of cloud above the tabernacle (Exodus xxxiii. 7-11). The word was frequently used in later Jewish literature for the divine presence itself; so Leviticus xxvi. 12: "And I will walk among you" is rendered in the Targum: "And I will cause my Shekinta to dwell among you." So we may assume with some confidence that in Aramaic the phrase "and tabernacled among us " would be rendered: " And made His Shekîntâ to dwell among us."

Now doxa (glory) is in one of its aspects the Greek equivalent of a second Aramaic term used in the Targums to describe God's self-manifestation to mankind, namely, Yegārā dăyahweh, "the glory of the Lord." So in Isaiah vi. 5 the words: "For my eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts" are rendered by the Targum: "For mine eye hath seen the Yegara of the Shekinta of the King of the ages." And if for the term Logos we substitute the word Mêmrâ, which is "the third and most frequent Targumic conception representing God in manifestation," it becomes clear that the author of the Fourth Gospel is "soaked through and through with the Palestinian Jewish thought which is represented by the Targums." Any reader of the Old Testament writings who had heard them interpreted in the worship of the synagogue from Hebrew into Aramaic, would have perceived that this Shekinta, this Yeqārā, manifested by the coming of Jahweh's Mêmrā or Word in human form, was the fulfilment of all the prophecies regarding Jahweh's dwelling among mortals. The above is at least an attractive and plausible theory, the coincidences in terminology are striking, and I

²⁰ L'Evangile de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ: traduction et commentaire du texte original grec, compte tenu du substrat sémitique, Paris, 1930, p. 462 in loc.

²¹ Burney, op cit., p. 38.

cannot see that Père Joüon is justified in rejecting it so summarily.22

A glory such as the Only-begotten receives from the Father. . . . The translation here has in it an element of paraphrase and brings out what seems to be the better grouping of para patros (from the Father) that is, with "glory." As regards the words "grace and truth," the former (charis) is only found in St. John in the Prologue, but alētheia (truth) is very common. We may take the expression as virtually the equivalent of hesed we'emeth in the Old Testament (Exodus xxxiv. 6; Psalms xxxix. 11; lxxxviii. 15), i.e., kindness (or loving kindness) and fidelity. For the spirit of this expression in the Old Testament one may consult, in particular, Psalms lxxxiv. 10-11:

"His salvation is nigh to them that fear Him, That glory (doxa) may dwell (kataskēnōsai) in our land.

Mercy (eleos) and truth (alētheia) have met together,

Righteousness and peace have kissed each other."

It is of importance to notice that, in Père Joüon's words: "Jean applique à Jésus une qualification que la Bible réserve à Dieu."

(b) Testimony of the Baptist, v. 15.

15. John bears witness to Him
And cries aloud, saying:
This was He of whom I said:
He that comes after me
Has come to be before me,
Because He was before me.

This is in the nature of a parenthesis. As a witness of the Word's glorious manifestation, the author adduces the great Forerunner. We may note in the first two lines the present and the perfect with present sense. The Baptist's voice is still ringing in the writer's ears across an interval of seventy years. The sense of "He that cometh after me" and "because He was before

Loc cit. "Il n'y a pas lieu de soupçonner une allusion à la doctrine juive de la šekinăh comme le voudrait Burney. . . ."

²⁹ Compare Père Joüon's "gloire venant du Père à ce Fils unique."

me" is certain. In His birth, Jesus came after John in point of time; but, as the Eternal Word, He existed before the world was made. What is the sense of "Hath come to be before me"? According to some authorities, it should be understood in a temporal sense, i.e., He appeared before me as the Creator, the Light of men, and so forth. But, more commonly, it is understood of a priority of dignity. St. Thomas says that St. John compares himself with Christ, first, in order of preaching; secondly, in order of dignity; and, thirdly, in order of duration.

(c) The Evangelist's testimony, 16-18.

16. For of His fullness We have all received.

And grace corresponding to [His] grace:

17. For the law was given through Moses; Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.

18. No man has seen God at any time;
The Only-begotten, who is God, who dwells in the
Father's bosom,
This is He who interpreted Him.

The "fullness" is that of "grace and truth." We need not here consider the sense in which the term pleroma was used by the Gnostics nor the place it has in Pauline theology.²⁴ But what is the meaning of charin anti charitos? It has been understood in various ways, e.g., (i.) as "Grace upon grace" or, as we might say, "grace after grace." But, in this case, we should expect to find epi with the dative. (ii.) Many early writers have taken it in the sense of marking the transition from the Old Law to the New-the grace of the New Law in place of that of the Old. But the Evangelist would probably have written: "Grace in place of the Law," i.e., charin anti nomou. (iii.) It has been understood by many writers of the constant increase of the superabounding grace of Christ. By extension this has been applied by Père d'Alès to the gift of the Holy Spirit in the place of Christ's visible presence. But this appears to be an accommodation rather than the literal sense of the expression. (iv.) It is best under-

²⁴ See Père F. Prat: La théologie de S. Paul, twelfth edition, Paris, 1924, I, pp. 352-58.

stood, as the translation just given suggests, to mean "grace corresponding to grace," that is, of our grace corresponding to the grace of the source from which it comes, Christ our Lord.

Verse 17 contrasts, as does St. Paul (Romans iv. 16; vi. 14; Galatians v. 4) the reign of the Law with the reign of grace. Here, for the first time in this Gospel, the full historic title of the Incarnate Word, Jesus Christ, is given.

The final verse of the section (18) stresses what was a fundamental principle in Judaism—God's invisibility to the bodily eye (Exodus xxxiii. 20; Deuteronomy iv. 12). The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, one of the latest of the Old Testament writings, asks: "Who has seen Him that he may tell thereof?" (xliii. 35) and the answer is given by St. John in this passage.

In the second member of the verse, there are two readings of importance. (i.) Monogenės theos, which is found in Aleph, B, C*, L, 33 (the best of the cursives), the Peshitta Syriac, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Epiphanius. (ii.) The received text has ho monogenes hyios "the only begotten Son," a reading found in all other uncials (D is missing from John i. 16—iii. 26) and cursives, in the Latin versions, the Curetonian Syriac (the Sinaitic Syriac is wanting here), Chrysostom and the Latin fathers. There can be little doubt that the verdict of textual criticism is overwhelmingly on the side of monogenes theos as the better reading, and Hort's conclusion that it is the correct one has been generally accepted.25 "The text," writes Dr. Hort, "though startling at first, simply combines in a single phrase the two attributes of the Logos marked before. . . . Its sense is 'One who was both theos and monogenēs." It is probable, as Bernard suggests, that we should not take monogenes as an adjective, but that monogenēs, theos, ho on eis ton kolpon tou patros are "three distinct designations of Him who is the Exegete or Interpreter of the Father."36

The word exēgeisthai is used elsewhere in the New

²⁵ See Bernard, op. cit., I, p. 31. Also Westcott and Hort: The New Testament in the Original Greek, Vol. II, Appendix i. Notes on Select Readings, p. 74 in loc.

²⁶ Bernard, loc. cit.

Testament by Luke alone and has the sense of rehearsing for the benefit of others. Many examples are given of its technical use in Greek literature for an exposition or declaration of divine mysteries. In this verse, the object of the interpretation is not expressly stated, but it is clearly, in this context, the declaration of the Father as such. "Here," writes Dr. Bernard, "we have the climax of the Prologue. The significance of the doctrine of the Logos is expressed in two words, ekeinos exēgēsato, It is He who interpreted the Father. In v. 17 it has been affirmed that the truth came through Jesus Christ, and the highest form of truth is the knowledge of God. This He declared with a precision which could only be exhibited by One whose dwelling was in the bosom of the Father."

²⁷ Op. cit., p. 33.

THE SCHISM OF HENRY VIII

SOME QUESTIONS OF EVIDENCE

By Abbé G. Constant, Docteur-ès-lettres.

AM very grateful to Father Beck for having devoted so much consideration to my English Schism, to the extent of even making a grammatical examination of some of its earlier passages and drawing critical attention to a number of references to the Letters and Papers, of which I will take account when I have checked them afresh.

It is difficult, in writing about facts and events that are universally known and that have often been described, to avoid a similarity of phraseology—even perhaps verbal coincidence with some previous author. Even Father Beck himself has not succeeded in avoiding this in respect of the one historical fact which he discusses. "In 1514," he writes, "the marriage question might, for example, have been one of the intricate marital relationships of Charles Brandon, the larron." The words in italics come from Pollard (Henry VIII, p 80). Moreover, where the same sources are used, verbal coincidences are inevitable.

In my treatment of the divorce, I have not neglected the works of previous authors, but I have also made much use of documents. The Letters and Papers are accessible to everyone and the Römische Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII von England, 1517-1534 of Mgr. Ehses have been constantly under my eyes. Some of my references which Father Beck alleges to have been derived from Pollard are, in fact, my own direct translations from Italian pieces in this collection.

Indeed, it is with the text of documents that the historian is primarily concerned, rather than with any book however good. Quite apart from my earlier works, which are all concerned directly with original documents (and which are all in the British Museum²), Father Beck could easily have seen the large number of quotations in inverted commas, which my book con-

¹ There is sometimes considerable imagination in Father Beck's assertions. Thus, note 60, on page 104, and several "important lines" on that page [of my book] are alleged to be taken from the article on Warham in the Catholic Encyclopædia, Vol. XV. I am quite certain that I have never read this article!

² Rapport sur une mission scientifique aux Archives L'Autriche et d'Espagne, tome 18 des Nouvelles Archives scientifiques et litteraires, publié sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts.

La Légation du Cardinal Morone près l'Empereur et le concile de Trente, avril-décembre, 1563, publié avec le concours de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (fasc. 233 of the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes), 610 pp.).

tains, such as the sketches of Fisher and Thomas More which are taken from the oldest and most authentic sources (which is probably the reason why they were chosen for their canonization by the Sacred Congregation of Rites); or the sketch of Pole, taken from the notes of his secretary and friend, Beccadelli; or the account of his mission in Spain, based for the first time on the Venetianische Despeschen vom Kaiserhofe,3 and other examples.

Moreover, I cannot see that Father Beck questions a single fact out of the many referred to in my book, with the exception of the suggested annulment of 1514, which he considers doubtful, but to which, however, I attach no special importance, seeing

that it exercised no influence on events.

What strikes us "continental" students so forcibly is the way in which the question of the Succession dominates the history of the Tudors from the time of Henry VIII. The shadow of the Wars of the Roses falls over the whole period. The problem of the Succession haunts Henry without respite, whence springs project after project, marriage after marriage, law after law regulating the Succession, finally the will and its executors. It is the Succession that produces the tragedy of the "Nine-Days' Queen" on the death of Edward VI. It is the Succession which from the beginning of her reign leads Mary Tudor on into an adventurous marriage and which fills her last days with bitter anguish. It is the Succession which under Elizabeth erects the scaffold at Fotheringay and keeps both the realm and the foreigner on the alert for forty-five years. A fit subject, indeed, for some dark Æschylean trilogy.

If Henry VIII presses matters forward roughly in 1533 it is because he is expecting a son; doctors, astrologers, midwives, have all announced it. Never had princess a worse welcome than Elizabeth. A second disappointment—and it is the axe for

Anne Boleyn.

As for my first chapter, which deals with the general circumstances in which the schism was to come about, and which were to favour its progress, the matter is one of general history and is known to all students of the sixteenth century and of the Reformation. I might, for this reason, have here dispensed with all annotation, and in fact I have done no more than

Concession à l'Allemagne de la communion sous les deux espèces. Etude sur les débuts de la Réforme Catholique en Allemagne, 1548-1621 (fasc. 125 of the Bibliothèque des Ecoles trançaises d'Athènes et de Rome), publié sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, 1158 pp. Father Beck will be able to realize that the notes in these are, in another way, as copious as in my English Schism, and that all the "système de fiches et compte-rendus" that he supposes, are pure invention.

³ The twenty pages of notes in the French edition, which Father Beck possesses (pp. 572-591), contain numerous references to these *Dispacci di Germania*, as well as frequent citations from French ambassadors in the language of the sixteenth century. There is hardly a phrase which is not taken direct from documents and followed by a note containing a number of quotations.

merely touch upon the different causes, both those common to all Christendom, and those particular to England.

What I have contented myself with saying pales beside the Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum praelatorum de emendanda ecclesia S. D. N. Paulo III jubente conscriptum et exhibitum, which was read to the Pope on March 9th, 1537, of which Reginald Pole was one of the signatories, and which ends with the words: "Amoveas a nobis iram Dei et ultionem eam, quam meremur, jam paratam cervicibus nostris immenentem."4 The unpopularity of the clergy with the people can hardly be a matter for surprise when this document can say: "Omnes fere pastores recesserunt a suis gregibus, commissi sunt omnes fere mercenariis." That is the final result of nonresidence and pluralities. There was practically no provision for priestly training, and many years were yet to elapse before the foundation of the seminaries. "Primus abusus in hac parte est ordinatio clericorum et praesertim presbyterorum, in qua nulla adhibetur cura, nulla adhibetur diligentia, quod passim quicumque sint imperitissimi, sint vilissimo genere orti, sint malis moribus ornati, sint adolescentes. . . . Hinc innumera scandala, hinc contemptus ordinis ecclesiastici, hinc divini cultus veneratio non tantum diminuta, sed etiam prope jam extincta."5 Even in the most Catholic countries, where popular piety was strongest, much hostility existed towards a clergy which was generally ignorant, often forgetful of its duties, and neglectful of preaching and pastoral instruction.6 Hence the terrible speed with which the Reformation developed and spread. Read, for example, the general confession made in the name of the whole clergy by the papal legates at the opening of the Council of Trent, on January 7th, 1546. "Nos pastores coram tribunali misericordiae Dei reos constituamus, atque omnium peccata in nos ipsos non tam pie quam juste transferentes, quia revera horum malorum magna ex parte nos causa sumus. . . . Quod vero dicimus, nos pastores his malis, quibus Ecclesia est oppressa, causam dedisse, si quis acrius et magis per exaggerationem quandam verborum quam vere dictum existimet, hoc quidem ipsa rerum experientia, quae mentiri non potest, comprobabit . . . utinam cum de corruptela morum sacerdotum loquimur, huic maximam occasionem, maximam materiam et auctoritatem ipsos principes atque ipsum populum dedisse

⁴ This has been often edited. It may be read, with annotations by Mgr. Schweitzer, in Tome XII of the Concilium Tridentinum of the Görresgesellschaft, Friburg-im-Breisgau, 1930, pp. 131-145.

⁵ Here is what, amongst other subjects, the cardinals' report says about the religious orders: "Adeo multi deformati sunt, ut magno sint scandalo saecularibus exemploque plurimum noceant. Conventuales ordines abolendos esse putamus omnes."

⁶ Cf. K. Eder, Das Land ob den Enns vor der Glaubensspaltung. Die kirchlichen, religiösen und politischen Verhältnisse in Oesterreich ob den Enns. 1490-1525, t. 1, Linz, 1933. To give a full bibliography on this subject would take up far too much space for a review article—and I mean a bibliography of editions of documents.

negare possemus. Sed reprimamus nunc verba usque ad tempus magis opportunum, fontes autem communium lacrymarum

aperiamus."7

Father Beck's remarks and reflections plainly reveal the limitations of his knowledge of the Reformation period and of the period preceding it. It was a better equipped reviewer who wrote of my book: "It is refreshing to find a writer on a period which is sometimes squalid who entirely disdains to soil his pages with that mud."

Thus speaks historical evidence.

Wyclif, Lollardism, and their consequences are matters of common knowledge. Between 1380 and 1385 Wyclifite opinions were already widely spread in Bohemia.8 While their influence on John Huss and through him on Luther has been much studied in Germany and Czechoslovakia,9 Gairdner's treatment for England (Lollardy and the Reformation in England) would gain by a revision on more orderly and compact lines. Had I not feared to enlarge an already very long book, I would have included a penultimate chapter on Heresy in the time of Henry VIII. This chapter would have raised the following questions: first, whether the cases of heresy dealt with did not owe more to Lollardy than to Lutheranism; and, secondly, to what extent Lutheranism had worked its way into an island-country easier to protect against the importation of books and ideas than were the countries bordering upon Germany.10 If the intellectuals and learned men were in touch with foreign developments, there must have been a good deal of more or less secret handing on of the old errors among certain classes of the people unaffected by what went on abroad, for nothing has a more enduring life than a sect.11 In a learned study not yet published (Lollardy

⁷ Admonitio Illmorum legatorum ad patres concilii, recitata in sessione secunda sub Paulo III. Concilium Tridentinum, ed. cit. T. IV. pp. 548-554 8 R. Holinka, Cirkezni politika arcibiskupa Jana v Zensteijn za pontifikatu

Urbana VI, Bratislava, 1933.

9 See my Concession à l'Allemagne de la Communion sous les deux espèces, Paris, 1923, p. 16, and notes. Since then there have been new works which it would take too long to mention here. But the account of the well-known Czeck historian K. Krofta, Les récents travaux sur Huss et le movement hussite, 1924, may be consulted.

10 The few rare huguenot refugees in London during the reign of François I (47 were naturalised between 1535 and 1536) were without a minister, without corporate worship, without any great knowledge of English, and had no influence on religious opinion during the reign of Henry VIII.

11 In France the Petite Eglise (1802), although without roots or doctrine, and soon without priests, still lingers on in certain villages and hamlets. See the letter of Leo XIII to the Bishop of Poitiers on the Petite Eglise, July 19th, 1893. Also my Eglise de France sous le Consulat et l'Empire, Paris, 1928, p. 243 et seq.; Abbé Chesneau, La Petite Eglise dans le Vendômois, 1926; Claude Brun, Les Blancs ou Anticoncordataires du Charolais, in the Annales historiques de Bourgogne, 1929; Clément Tournier, Le cardinal de Clermont-Tonnerre, archevêque de Toulouse et le drame de la Petite-Eglise, in the Revue Historique de Toulouse, LXX, 1933. Compare also the long survival of the non-jurors in England.

in London on the Eve of the Reformation) Miss E. Jeffries Davis has established the existence of local groups of Lollards at the

beginning of the sixteenth century.

At this beginning in England the mass of the people, as elsewhere before the Reformation, was faithful to the traditional beliefs in which it had been reared. It felt no special hostility towards the Papacy, and the old quarrels with the Holy See had died down. But popular religious instruction was summary and superficial, while popular piety lacked solid foundations. On both sides of the Channel, especially after the Council of Bale, the superiority of a General Council over the Pope, with which Henry VIII was to make skilful play, had been generally admitted. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the exemptions enjoyed by the clergy, taken in conjunction with their frequent non-residence, were burdensome to many and were regarded with considerable dislike by a large section of the nation. This it was that allowed the measures which gradually led to the Schism to creep stealthily in.12

The ease with which Parliament voted, one after the other, the measures leading up to the Schism is plain. These shortsighted people did not see beyond their immediate interests: to prevent money going out of the realm (Annates' Acts), to curtail the rights and if need be to confiscate the goods of a clergy whom they eyed with jealousy (Commons Petitions against the Clergy: Submission of the Clergy: Dissolution of the Monasteries). Slowly but surely they came to the edge of the precipice. Thomas Cromwell was able, by spreading his bait, to gain the support of the Commons for his own ends

without show of violence.

That questions of Dogma played but a secondary rôle in the Reformation in England, and that this was provoked by grievances of a practical order intimately bound up with questions of money, is so plainly true that I find it stated in conversation by Cardinal Bourne, who had probably never read the works of Professor Pollard. "It was not for reasons of doctrine," he said, "that England originally rejected Rome . . . underlying reasons are to be found in a kind of national resentment against the interferences . . . of certain churchmen who at this period placed the most important English benefices in the hands of foreigners." It was a question of money.

It would be rash for a foreigner to claim a better knowledge

¹⁹ Cf. P. Janelle, L'Angleterre catholique à la veille du schisme, Paris, 1935. In spite of its title, this book is mainly concerned with the evolution of Stephen Gardiner, who is taken as typifying the attitude of the educated Englishman of his time when confronted with the schism.

¹³ Mgr. G. Vanneufville, Essai sur le Cardinal Bourne et le Catholicisme

en Angleterre, Paris, 1919.
In the time of Henry VIII there were three Italians who held the titles of English bishoprics: Adrian de Castello, Bath and Wells (1504-1518); Campeggio, Salisbury (1524-1534); and G. de Ghinucci, Worcester (1522-1535). These are few in comparison with other countries, with France, for example, where the Cardinal of Ferrara alone, even after the Tridentine decrees

of English Political History than that possessed by English historians. Hence I read with special care Professor Pollard's Evolution of Parliament.¹³ Did not Father Beck himself appeal to this author against Mr. Hilaire Belloc in the same number

of the Clergy Review (March, 1935, p. 268)?

But, in regard to points that are matters of controversy, I have depended so little upon any particular authors that many phrases, many paragraphs, indeed many notes are devoted to refuting certain of their statements. Appendix II (Could Clement VII have annulled Henry's marriage?) can hardly have escaped the notice of Father Beck, who is chiefly concerned with the question of the divorce. It would only have been fair play on his part to have mentioned it. Anglican historians are now prepared to admit that the matter of the divorce does not form one of the more honourable pages in their history, but they attempt to throw the responsibility for the rupture on to the Pope, as if he could perfectly well have annulled the marriage of Catherine of Aragon had he not been influenced by motives of a political kind not to do so. This is not the

against Pluralities, held five bishoprics, three archbishoprics (Lyon, Auch, Narbonne), and nine important abbeys, which he never visited, but from

which he derived extensive revenues.

It was the Tudors (Henry VII was the first, with Silvestro de Giglis, nephew of Julian de Medicis, Bishop of Worcester, 1408-1521), who introduced Italians into the sees of England, probably in order to secure for themselves protectors at Rome. Similarly they do not appear before Tudor times in Scotland (cf. Annie Cameron, The Apostolic Camera and Scotlish Benefices, 1418-1488.

London, 1934).

As for Annates and other taxes levied by the Holy See in England, they were no heavier than those raised in other realms of Christendom. None the less fiscal questions had been complicated by feelings of bitter national resentment, which had not helped to ameliorate relations with the Holy See. See the doctoral thesis of E. Perroy, L'Angleterre et le Grand Schisme d'Occident, Etude sur la politique religieuse de l'Angleterre sous Richard II (1378-1399), Paris, 1933, which has put the subject in a new light.

14 If I have not included his *Henry VIII* in the bibliography of Chapter II, the reason is that the works cited in the *general* bibliography are not

repeated in each chapter.

15 Father Beck, referring to Pollard, finds my list of the children born to Catherine incomplete. In the American edition, I have given to the publishers, for the Addenda and Corrigenda, a rectification of note 61, on page 51, which still further reduces the number of children born to the king from his first marriage. According to Frederick Chamberlin (The Private Character of Henry VIII, London, 1932, Chapter III, and p. 262 et seq.), who has made a close study of the births of Henry's children, the Prince of Wales, born in 1511, lived fifty-two days; no child was born in June, 1514, but in November of that year there was a still-born daughter, or one who died "not long after." Finally, the various miscarriages that Pollard (op. cit., p. 177) attributes to the queen in 1517, rest on nothing firmer than a mere unconfirmed rumour of pregnancy.

16 H. A. Moreton, La Réforme anglicane au XVIe siècle, thesis for Besançon University, 1930, p. 50, follows Professor Pollard, Henry VIII, cap. 8 (The Pope's Dilemma), which concludes thus:—"There was no higher tribunal. It was intolerable that English suits should be decided by the chances and changes of French or Habsburg influence in Italy, by the hopes and the fears of an Italian Prince for the safety of his temporal power. The natural and inevitable result was the separation of England from Rome."

case. A study of the documents and of the Canon Law makes it perfectly clear that while Clement might have desired to satisfy Henry in order to allay his anxiety over the Succession, he could not in point of fact have done so from the point of view of the Canon Law and of Justice. It is clear also that his condescension and long suffering were unexampled; that he was willing to do and suffer everything possible in order to avoid a break. In a review of my book an Anglican writer, who admits none the less that one may "believe that finally the Pope came down on the side of Right," makes the following objection: "When it seemed clear that Spanish influence in Italy was declining, Campeggio set out for England; but again when the French were checked through the desertion of Doria and the death of Lautrec, Campeggio received new instructions. Since the Emperor is victorious the Pope ought not to give him any pretext for a new rupture lest the Church be entirely destroyed." If the recent memory of the Sack of Rome (1527) gave the Pope some anxiety, it was because the legatine mission of Campeggio and Wolsey (1528) had been in derogation of the common law of the Church, an almost exorbitant favour granted to the king of England. But when the case had been recalled and judged at Rome in the regular manner, Clement gave no sign of being under any apprehension of the imperial arms, and one may indeed wonder what Charles V could well have done. Throughout the whole affair there is not a word of menace from the Emperor or from his ambassadors. 17 From Henry VIII and his representatives, on the other hand, there is hardly anything else. Either the divorce-or schism. The two attitudes are diametrically opposed to each other. Charles V asks for Justice, and only complains—and that with moderation—of the delays, promising to accept the papal sentence. Henry VIII insists at all costs upon his own satisfaction. Such is the finding, not of this author or of that, but of the documents themselves, directly studied and quoted. Such is the evidence.

If I have spoken of Henry VIII's schism as an episode in the conflict between Church and State, it is because we have no other word in the French language to indicate "un fait considérable qui se rattache à un ensemble d'évenements importants" (Littré's Dictionaire). As for my opinion on the Schism and its consequences, Father Beck could hardly have been unaware of it since he had before his eyes the French edition of my book, to the Preface of which the following passage forms the conclusion:

"In the middle of the divorce negotiations, the English agents who had followed Clement VII in his flight to Orvieto, would persist in their importunities six and seven hours on end and barely trouble to veil their threats. One day when they had spoken with more than usual violence of a rupture that would

¹⁷ P. Rassow (Die Kaiseridee Karls v. dargestellt an der Politik der Jahre 1528-1540, Berlin, 1932) shows that, for his part, Charles V took up a Christian rather than a political standpoint over the question of Henry VIII's divorce.

shake the Chair of Peter, the Pope, who but yesterday had been the Emperor's prisoner, rose from his seat in extreme agitation. In nervous haste he paced up and down the gloomy and poverty-stricken room of the ruined palace in which he had taken refuge, his broken gesticulations betraying the depth of his emotion. The ambassadors had held their peace and a heavy silence fell upon the mysterious scene in all its anguish. The dread spectre of Schism haunted men's minds and oppressed their spirits. But who could then have calculated the extent of the consequences, and foreseen that the 'island of little profit,' as the Imperialists termed England, would establish her dominion, her race, and her religious influence over immense territories whose very existence was as yet barely suspected? For centuries, millions and millions of human beings were to be cut off from the Catholic source of life.

"The scene of Orvieto, for all its symbolic properties, was far from expressing the extent and significance of a schism the story of which will never be known with sufficient precision and clarity."

In my last chapter I have fully and, I think, for the first time, given an account of the doctrine of the Church of England under Henry VIII, showing to what extent, with the exception of the question of papal authority, it differed from that of Lutheranism. This has been questioned by Dr. Messenger (CLERGY REVIEW, October, 1934), who bases himself on "the fact that the Ten Articles arose out of the Wittenberg Articles, a Lutheran formula of faith." Now this is not so. It is plain that the Ten Articles do not depend at all on the Wittenberg Articles in regard to the points at issue between Catholics and Protestants. The second and third Confessions, those of 1537 and 1543, recast and complete the first, which had been no more than a beginning. There is no omission, despite the contrary affirmation of Dr. Messenger, who indeed supplies no kind of proof for his statement. All the points at issue between Catholics and Protestants are here clearly defined, without evasion or ambi-The Cathechism of the Council of Trent is itself less complete, since it contains no special articles on Purgatory and the Justification of good works.

To say, as Dr. Messenger does, that "in the two later formulae heresy is at least insinuated by omission" is thus contrary to all the evidence.

A simple reading of chapters seven and eight of my book will suffice to show superabundantly that the moderate and orthodox party in Henry VIII's reign always carried the day—alike in numbers and in authority. The compromises of which Dr. Messenger speaks are those of another period. The episcopate of Henry VIII was not that of Edward VI or Elizabeth. Nothing is more false than to write that "the formulae in question were the product of the English episcopate as a whole, and thus would naturally present to some extent the aspect of a compromise between the two schools of opinion." Henry VIII

was no minor. Not for nothing had he assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England. His authority was not that of a child of thirteen, or of a woman. With such a man, Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Stokesley and the rest, would not allow the old Credo of their Church to be in any way impaired; Archbishop Cranmer himself hastened to sign all the Confessions of the reign, although his own opinions had begun to move away from them.

Finally, Dr. Messenger says that "in the two later formulae a careful theologian will easily detect a watering down of the Catholic doctrine on points which were questioned by the German Lutherans, and on which the English somewhat feebly re-asserted the Catholic position." Now, it happens that without stating my own opinion, I submitted all the Formularies of Faith of Henry's reign to a highly-skilled theologian, the dean of a Faculty of Theology in a Catholic University, where he has taught for thirty years, a scholar well versed in the Reformation period, who has himself both written and fostered many theological works. With the exception of those points that deal with the papal supremacy and with the submission of the Church to the Civil Power, exceptions that I have always made (see English edition, pp. 407, 411, 434), he pronounced these *Formularies* to be all plainly anti-Lutheran on all the points at issue between Catholics and Protestants. The doctrine of Justification, so hotly debated during this period and not yet fixed by the Council of Trent; this doctrine, which was the touchstone of Lutheranism, "is explained," he said, "in clear and vigorous terms, with no concession to Luther." It is so, too, with all the rest.

I have no doubt that Dr. Messenger, when he has read the Formularies of Faith of Henry VIII, will himself agree with the opinion of the eminent dean of a faculty of Catholic Theology, and with the opinion also of his own compatriot, Cardinal Reginald Pole, who judged the Necessary Doctrine (1543) to be "so consistent to the true doctrine that he ordered it to be read in the pulpit in Mary Tudor's time"; and that he will separate himself from Ranke, Makower and other Protestant historians, who not being themselves by any means theologians either formed their opinions à priori, from vague impressions and without serious study, or simply repeated the views of their predecessors. After the plain failure of the conferences of London in 1536 and 1538, after the promulgation of the Formularies of 1539 and 1543 and the Act of the Six Articles, Melanchthon and other Continental Protestants never ceased to abuse and curse Henry No Anglican theologian, throughout the centuries, has been able to claim a single passage in the Confessions of Henry's reign as capable of being squared with the Thirty-nine Elizabethan Articles, or indeed with any Protestant doctrine, however softened or watered down.18

¹⁸ I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. H. O. Evennett, of Trinity College, Cambridge, for his kindness in translating this article.

THE BREVIARY AS THE PRIEST'S BOOK OF DEVOTIONS

By the Rev. F. J. PINKMAN.

OME years ago, a priest on a visit to Quarr Abbey was surprised to find that the monks had no night prayers, "only Compline," he said. There is, to be sure, a widely marked difference between liturgical and modern popular prayer, at least, in expression and emphasis. Were the prayers of the Breviary to be put into English in the grand and really adequate style of the sixteenth century, there are some people who would say "how very Protestant"; indeed, they would scarcely consider them to be prayers at all. But let somebody attack the Breviary, these same people, whose religion is strongly anti-Protestant, would have no hesitation in quoting v.g. Newman's Tracts for the Times. No. 75: "There is so much excellence and beauty in the services of the Breviary, that were it skilfully set before the Protestant by Roman controversialists, as the book of devotions received in their communion, it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favour.

With the Subdiaconate and the vow of celibacy, the Church laid upon us the corresponding obligation of our daily Office, undoubtedly as the means of living in accord with our new status which, as we all know, becomes quite unnatural, not when we cease to officiate, but when we cease really to say our prayers. We fully allow with St. Jerome that "Sancta rusticitas solum sibi prodest," yet surely we must admit that we have been enclosed in a Seminary, primarily, to learn the art of prayer, especially liturgical prayer, which we are to use at every turn for the rest of our lives. As a rule, it is quite certain that if we have not at least begun in the Seminary, we shall never begin; in and after middle life the majority of us seldom learn anything new. our ordination the Church gives us her own Prayer book, "the Vox Ecclesiae"; she means us to use it, she expects us to be able to use it, as the implement of our

personal sanctification whereon to resound the praise and worship of God "Fili hominis comede volumen istud."2 Herein, as Cardinal Bourne once said, we have vocal and mental prayer of the highest order, not separated, but deftly interwoven in the same fabric. "The Divine Office," says the Cardinal, in his Allocution to the Clergy, 1925, "stands in a place apart of dignity and of efficacy." Herein we have rich and varied spiritual reading, taken systematically and directly from the sacred Scriptures which the Church has always regarded as the main source of her devotional life. Indeed, it has been truly said: "Remove from her liturgy all traces of scriptural texts, and you have taken away four-fifths of the whole." Herein also we have constant contact with the lives of the Saints, the embodiment of the invisible world, men who have endured as " seeing the invisible "and have verified their discernment of spiritual things by encountering and defying those temptations and bewilderments of which we are all aware.

All will agree, I think, as to the general excellence and importance of the Homilies selected for the most part by Paul the Deacon, the greatest scholar of his age. They are misread if we look upon them as exact commentaries on the literal sense of Scripture; indeed, they are often thoughts suggested by the Scripture, yet "full of the Holy Ghost and fire." Some of the best examples, in my opinion, are found in the Common, the oldest, the classical portion of the Sanctorale.

Now, it is profoundly true that, in the religious life, no man is sufficient for himself; behind every saint stands another from whom he draws some inspiration. All deep piety is anchored in the past. In the Homilies of SS. Leo, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Bernard our devotion is immersed in the great patristic tradition of the Church; we drink of the wisdom of the ages. It is regrettable, indeed, that we often hurry through these great Homilies; many of us, I fear, scarcely stop to translate them, and often miss, it may be, their full meaning and beauty. For example, St. Augustine's

² Ezech. iii. 1.

³ Hebrews xi. 27.

⁴ Matthew iii. 11.

famous "non est mendacium sed mysterium" is not taken seriously by many who hastily gather therefrom that Jacob was no cheat; whereas a careful reading of the passage would show that St. Augustine says nothing of the kind. Were the noble words of St. Gregory on "Eternal Life" discovered by some student in the inaccessible tomes of Migne, they would be prized by preachers and embellish our popular devotional literature; nobody notices them in the Common of Martyrs. The passage deserves a better translation than I can devise; I have tried to preserve something of "the roll and march of that majestic harmony" which sounds in the Latin:

"If we consider, beloved Brethren, what and how great are the blessings promised to us in heaven, how poor and mean do all earthly possessions appear! For earthly goods compared with heavenly felicity are a burden, not a help. Our temporal life compared with life eternal, ought to be spoken of as death rather than For the daily falling away of this corruptible body-what is it but a kind of lingering death (quaedam prolixitas mortis)? But what tongue can express, or what mind is sufficient to comprehend, how great the joys of that citizenship, which is above? To be present amid choirs of angels, to stand beside the blessed spirits of the divine glory, to behold God face to face, to see the light unspeakable, to be touched by no fear of death, to be gladdened by the gift of an imperishable life? Surely at the hearing of these things, the soul kindles, and already longs to be there where it hopes to rejoice everlastingly."5

We rightly feel in contact with the spirit of the early Church in saying those beautiful Preces which come to us through the monasteries from the Apostolic Constitutions. They are one form of what was originally meant by a Litany; it is time that they were translated and put into circulation among our people.

And what a precious inheritance are our resounding Latin Collects, so musical, so restrained, so dignified, so Catholic in their sweep and range, so truly Roman. It is, indeed, a pity that they are so barbarously rendered

⁵ Homily on Luke xiv. 25-33, delivered to the people in St. Sebastiano.

in our popular Missals, and that we do not preach them and teach them to our people—"discunt resonare Christum corde Romano." What uncircumcized prejudice prevents our Secondary schools from introducing them to our Catholic boys and girls and helping them to appreciate compositions of such classic beauty and purity? What a contrast with that Dickensian style of piety, represented by Faber and his school which so often simmers in sentiment and approaches so nearly to vulgarity and journalese? I venture to give one example from the opening pages of the Breviary, with Cranmer's translation which, for some unaccountable reason, does not appear among the Collects of the Book of Common Prayer:

Aurem, tuam, quaesumus Domine, precibus nostris accommoda, et mentis nostrae tenebras, gratia tuae visitationis illustra.

Cranmer:

Lord, we beseech thee, give ear unto our prayer, and by thy gracious visitation lighten the darkness of our heart.

Magnificent in both languages, in its restraint and simplicity and sonorous harmony.

I should like to dwell upon the Responses to the Lessons, many of them masterpieces of liturgical literature, recalling as Mgr. Batiffol points out, the Chorus of the Greek Tragedies. A good choir of men and boys would be necessary in order to convey the full dramatic beauty of such a brilliant composition as the Aspiciens a longe, the pathos and restrained emotion of the Montes Gelboë, the strength and triumph of Christus factus est pro nobis, the moving peace and quiet confidence of Ecce quomodo moritur justus. It is these Responses that give to each Office its special character. Some, indeed, are commonplace; we do not expect sustained brilliance; as a whole, they are fine ejaculatory prayers: we pause in our reading to speak musingly to God, often taking away some thought to work into the fabric of our lives-" Divitias et paupertatem ne dederis mihi, sed victui meo tribue necessaria," surely an apostolic ideal for every secular priest and every religious community as such—" Peccantem me quotidie et non paenitentem, timor mortis conturbat me." Or again these touching words that used to be, in part, on Beaufort's tomb in Winchester: "Tribularer, si nescirem misericordias tuas. Domine, tu dixisti, 'nolo mortem peccatoris sed ut magis convertatur et vivat.' Qui Chananaeam et Publicanum vocasti ad paenitentiam. Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tuae laetificaverunt animam meam."

Popular piety is sometimes encouraged to prepare for the great feasts by making a Novena; when the actual feast-day is over, nothing more is thought of it. The liturgical way is a Vigil and an Octave round which have clustered the holiday seasons to give the people an opportunity of going to Mass. The Antiphons, the Responses, and the Prayers of the Office give us the spirit and meaning of the feast and tell us of the special grace it brings to us. For example, the Epiphany, is a majestic feast, yet what a tender touch is in the first Antiphon for Vespers borrowed, with its music, from the Greek Church. It should be punctuated according to the musical text in order to get the original meaning, rhythm, and balance of phrase:

Ante luciferum genitus, Et ante saecula Dominus, Salvator noster hodie mundo apparuit. (He who was begotten before the day-star And Lord before the world began To-day as our Saviour on earth appears.)

Again, we are given the precise meaning and significance of the feast in two other Antiphons. That of the Magnificat tells us that we commemorate not one but three Epiphanies: (a) the coming of the Magi; (b) the changing of water into wine; (c) the Baptism in the Jordan. But these Epiphanies do not constitute the feast; they are only the take-off of its flight. We soar on mystic wing into the realms of man's unspeakable union with God. So the Antiphon for the Benedictus:

To-day the Church is wedded to her Spouse, for in Jordan, Christ has washed away her sins; the wise men with gifts make haste unto the Royal

Office for the Dead.

⁷ First Week in Lent.

nuptials; the guests are filled with delight by the waters that are changed into Wine. Alleluia.

Hence we see that the Epiphany is the Church's wedding day: collectively, we are the spouse of Christ; individually, we are guests at the royal wedding banquet. The wise men of every "nation, tribe and tongue" bring gifts; golden loyalty, the incense of devotion, the myrrh of undying fidelity to their Spouse and King who maketh glad our hearts, giving us the new wine of the new alliance, a participation in His divine life and Godhead.

Only in the Office do we find this; the three wise men must be rather bored by the undue prominence given to them in our sermons. Why is it that sermon-makers in the Clergy Review, all of them outstanding men, never seek for material in the Office which they have been reading for years? Why is it that Retreat-givers, speaking to priests, never draw inspiration from any part of the Office, and, indeed, seldom even refer to it? It is deplorable.

In the Middle Ages, as Edmund Bishop points out, " even the popular devotional spirit expressed itself with freedom and liberty in the strictly liturgical services of the various local churches." The Liturgy was the main source and inspiration of the devotion of priests and people alike. It was unthinkable that a religious community should not say the Office in Choir. since the action of Pius V and his successors in fixing definitely and rigidly the character of the Missal and Breviary, and since the institution of the Congregation of Rites to keep observances on the lines laid down in these books, another spirit has been at work outside the official territory and independent of the Liturgy. Devotional writers have drifted away from the traditional practices and official services of the Church, and have borne even the Clergy, to some extent, along with them. And, let it be said, parenthetically, that much of that literature, primarily for religious communities, is not at all suitable for our people, is written in a strange idiom and is sometimes quite unhealthy; As the child said, in imitation of St. Paul and the law, "it gives you ideas."

To suggest nowadays that the Office is and should be a real prayer comes as a surprise to many who have been saying it carefully all their lives. To maintain that it is, and should be, our book of devotions, our "mental and vocal" prayer, indeed, the heart of all our other prayer, sounds dangerously novel. Years ago I remember being sternly rebuked and threatened with disaster by a well-known priest, for daring to maintain that I could make the Divine Office serve as my daily meditation. I have heard a busy priest say recently that he was often so tired in the evening that he had to ask his Superior for exemption from the Office. In vain did I venture to suggest that his Office had the first claim on his attention, that he should combine his morning meditation with his Office, as Goldsmith would say:

And thus contrive a double debt to pay His meditation make, his Office say.

What can be more demoralizing than a mechanical and hurried recitation of the Office, even with a view to other "mental and vocal" prayer? Why duplicate before doing well our official duty, to wit, the divine Office. And does not duplication of this kind often result in doing neither well, indeed, in making the Office a burden and a bore and in abandoning any attempt at mental prayer? Here, at least, as the Greeks would say, the "half is greater than the whole." Surely the commonsense way is to make the Liturgy our central prayer and great act of worship, not only to prepare well for Mass, but to say Mass well, to aim at a better and more intelligent recitation of the Office, prepared for, accompanied and followed by more recollection, more allied spiritual reading and prayer according to our different gifts and opportunities. In the Benedictine life of prayer, according to the monastic tradition, the Office has the first place-" Nihil Operi Dei praeponatur," says St. Benedict. All their other prayer is subsidiary to the complement of the divine Office.

And this system, in full accord with the mind of the Church, gives order and cohesion, due proportion and subordination to our other exercises which then enrich the Office and one another. If, in addition, we link up the Office with the Mass, by following Cardinal Bourne's suggestion, we shall have unity and harmony in our spiritual life. Prime and Terce, said slowly and deliberately, as part of our preparation for Mass (the Mass being said so that the prayers and lessons can be heard,

followed and understood by the congregation; Sext and None, likewise as part of our thanksgiving, the other parts fitting in accordingly, and said by preference in the Church. In any system, a busy priest has often to curtail or omit some of his religious exercises; I am convinced that in this system of inter-connected prayer, he is fortified against the harm which might be incurred thereby.

Of course, to be appreciated the Breviary, like the Missal, needs some preliminary study and the cultivation of a liturgical spirit. To me it seems cruel to put the Breviary into the hands of a young subdeacon without introduction of any kind. Any man of spirit and conscience should feel ashamed, and, indeed, is in danger of becoming demoralized by saying prayers and psalms, and reading Lessons and Homilies of which he has only a vague idea. What would be thought of such incompetence in other walks of life where employment and promotion depend on knowledge of and efficiency in one's professional work? How many of us are prepared for ten minutes' close examination on the Breviary which everybody presumes we know intimately? We know Latin fairly well, indeed, better than most people. "'Father X," said an old lady, "reads Latin as if he understood it "—a compliment but also a contrast. Latin is vernacular to none of us; we do not think in Latin or easily find the exact English word or phrase which lights up and conveys the precise shade of meaning to our minds. Anybody can translate "Nisi Moyses stetisset in confractione in conspectu ejus" or "Ferrum pertransivit animam ejus." Render: "Had not Moses stood in the breach before him" and "the iron entered his soul," they are alive and at home in our minds for all time. Macaulay argues that Addison knew little or no Greek because he never used it to illustrate points wherein it would be helpful. One of my masters replied by saying that, though he read his Breviary year by year, he never quoted it. Not very convincing to those who know. Moreover, there are many strange constructions, words, and phrases in the Breviary which would puzzle even the best classical scholar. What were we, as beginners, to make of v.g. In convertendo Dominus captivitatem Sion (When the Lord brought back the captives of Sion) P. cxxv.; Multus est ad ignoscendum Is. lv. 7 (he will abundantly forgive); Ad meipsum anima mea conturbata est, P. xli.—fully appreciated by those who recall the forcible Irish idiom, v.g., "he shot my dog on me"; quibus Juravi in ira mea, si introibunt in requiem meam, quite clear, if we think of a phrase like: "I'm dashed if you do"; Rationabilis—something supersensuous, spiritual, cf. Collect Sixth Sunday after Epiphany also the Canon of Mass; Sensusthoughts, cf. the prayer for Prime, and the Hymn for Terce; "Fluvios etham"—fluvios perrenes, P. lxxiii. 15; credulitas, faith; dissimulare, to neglect; traducere, to make a show of, Matthew i. 19; similitudo, a by-word, P. xliii.; adjicere loqui, to speak again, Is. vii. 10; ruina, a corpse, P. cix.; filiae Judae, cities of Judah, P. xlvii.; abundantes in egressibus suis, P. cxliii., a prolific offspring; laudari, P. ix., to boast; substantia (a) foothold, P. lxviii.; (b) possessions, Luke xv. 12; (c) confidence, Heb. iii. 14; cum sonitu, to the echo, utterly, P. ix; ex hoc in illud., all kinds of, P. cxliii.; benedicere, to curse (sometimes), Job ii. 9; reverentia, shame, P. lxviii.; funiculus, a bed, P. cxxxviii.; veritas, fidelity (often in the Psalms); quoniam, in the Psalms, often merely a connecting link, meaning yea or nay; virtutes (a) Armies, cf. Domine virtutum; (b) miracles, cf. Matt. xiii. 58; dignatio, condescension, cf. the Exultet on Holy Saturday; Excussi, P. cxxvi, "Vegeti, Robusti, Expediti." When we consulted the Commentaries for the meaning of phrases like "Anni nostri sicut aranea meditabuntur" (our years have spun out their tale like a spider) or "priusquam intelligerent spinae vestrae rhamnum'' (before your thorns feel that they have become a buckthorn), is they impudently told us, that they could mean nothing at all, or simply referred us to the

Of. "Rachel died on me," Vulgate: mihi mortua est Rachel, Genesis xlviii. 7.

⁹ Homily of St. Gregory.

¹⁶ Homily of St. Gregory.

[&]quot;" 'He shall fill (the land with) corpses," the Greek word for corpse meaning "something fallen down," hence the Latin: ruina.

¹⁸ Jer. Ep. 34. (Note: A Grammar of the Vulgate by Plater and White, Oxford Press, is a very useful book.)

^{13 &}quot;Ante quam crescant spinae vestrae in rhamnum"—St. Jerome.

Hebrew, a counsel of despair, to those who must use the Breviary text as it stands.

We were frankly puzzled by the strange tenses of the Vulgate, especially the Imperfect where obviously we should have the Future. A simple—too simple—solution would have been to put this down to the ignorance of the translators. It was much more interesting to discover that Hebrew folks were living in a different climate of thought, that they had a more vivid imagination than we, that they saw themselves not only going to do something, but keeping at it and looking back on it as if it were already accomplished. Hence the swift and frequent change of standpoint. The Vulgate sometimes stumbles on this, and surely it is good to learn even at our prayers that other people do not and need not think and speak as we do, and that there is much to be said for their ways.

Another example: Without some knowledge of its history we could scarcely have been expected to understand the different liturgical applications of "In medio duorum animalium innotescéris"—" between two living creatures shalt thou be known." Commonly understood at one time of Our Lord between the two thieves, and so used in the Holy Week Liturgy; at a later period it was taken as referring to the "Ox and the Ass" in Isaias i. 3; then it appeared in an ancient Office of Christmas for St. Mary Major's (Rome), presumably because of the Crib there; and finally found its way into the Office of the Circumcision.

The fact is, there are many passages in the Breviary (not merely in the psalms), to all of us as much in need of Notes and Commentary as the texts of Cæsar or Cicero. It is strange, that it has never occurred to anybody to do this. And let us be quite straight and frankly admit, that not young students only, but all of us would profit much by such a work, if only we could be induced to read it "per modum sanationis in radice." For one thing, it would save us from a lot of ignorant nonsense about the barbarous Latin of the Breviary.

Even a little knowledge and reflection show us what grand penetrating prayers the Psalms are, how fresh and vigorous, having a rich background of fact and experience without which our prayer is thin and poor and unattractive. Where else do we find such a keen

sense of God's immense reality, of His presence, prevenience, protection, and abidingness—all of which make so much for reverence and adoration, vital elements of prayer? In all our troubles we are taught to look, not in, but out and up to the Almighty and merciful God. Indeed, the Psalms make our prayers wonderfully rich. Where can we find a more glorious expression of faith and self-commitment than:

I was a beast before thee, Yet, I am always with thee. Thou holdest my right hand, And in thy pleasure thou dost guide me And receive me with honour. What have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee.

For me it is good to cleave to God!

Psalm lxxii.

Other parts of the Sacred Scriptures, for the most part, speak to us of God; in the Psalms we speak to God, in words which the Spirit of God puts on our lips and speaks with us and for us. "Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram, nam quid oremus sicut oportet nescimus, sed ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus." How beautifully St. Augustine says this in the words printed at the beginning of the Breviary: "ut bene ab homine laudetur Deus, laudavit se ipse Deus." Indeed, it must be said with emphasis, that the divine art of prayer is in the Psalms which, if we know not, we know not how to pray—"quid oremus sicut oportet nescimus."

Many of the clergy are not happy in appropriating the hot and strong language of the Psalms. The Commentaries, with an eye on the gainsayer, are exceedingly apologetic. They allow that many of the Psalms "contain sentiments abhorrent to our more sensitive minds." The liturgical use and application of many of these passages, some of them definitely messianic, all of them the fervent inspired prayers of great saints, the putting on Our Lord's lips of v.g. Jeremiah's "induc super eos diem afflictionis et duplici contritione contere

¹⁴ Romans viii. 26.

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eos " (Passiontide) would show that such interpretations are neither adequate nor true. With all due respect, one cannot help thinking that, somehow, to be able to pray well and adequately is to be able to curse well. Here, too, "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life" and meaning to such expressions. 15 Our cursing must be less carnal and more spiritual. Besides, there are times when only the language of the psalmist duly vents one's indignation; when up against insolent intrigue one may well pray "et oratio ejus fiat in peccatum," religious pray that scoundrels be caught and be shown up, and have the devil thrashed out of them "duplici contritione," and that all their brood be stamped out: "beatus qui tenebit et allidet parvulos tuos ad petram." Yet, we must say with St. Jerome: "Verba non tam furoris in adversarios quam dilectionis in ecclesias Dei."16 There is nothing tepid in the psalmist. These stern oracular denunciations stand for real elements in God. significant of His mighty power and avenging justice; these fearsome words flash forth the marvellous reality and supreme dominion of God before Whom the rebel shall quake and quail. The Sermon on the Mount is not the whole of Christianity.

Admittedly the Vulgate is often obscure yet seldom or never incapable of some meaning. It has a grammar and vocabulary often very different from the classical idiom of which it must not be considered a corruption. Cultured Latin speakers and writers, like Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory, at home with the classics from their youth up, were quite satisfied with it and wished for nothing better. Nor, in all probability, did St. Jerome expect that his versions from the Hebrew would ever take its place in the Liturgy. "Hoc enim quod Septuaginta transtulerunt propter vetustatem in Ecclesiis decantandum est, et illud (the Hebrew) ab eruditis sciendum est propter notitiam scripturarum." And let it be said quite fearlessly that the Vulgate has its good qualities; its resounding Latinity, its musical cadences often delight one's ear. Like Latin Hymnody, written in the same popular idiom, it is for the ear rather than

15 II Cor. iii. 6.

¹⁶ Migne: P.L., XXVI, 405.

for the eye; rhythmical considerations have influenced its constructions. "It is Cantabilis" (Pope); it is in all our memories—an obstinate reason for its continued use, even in spite of a better version. At times one feels something of the vigour of the "Sermo Quotidianus"; its literalness has a value and charm of its own. The Hebrew scholar can seldom say that it is wrong, indeed, it is often right; when it is obscure, the original text is frequently uncertain. It has been used in the Church since Latin became the language of the Liturgy, and no doubt at all, it will continue to be used "donec auferatur luna."

It seems to me that something might well be done to the Breviary text of the Psalms (for private recitation) which would mark the strophic divisions of each, and show where one set of ideas or one speaker ends, and another set of ideas or another speaker begins. Some indication might be given that we are reading poetry not prose; this would help to distinguish the imagery from the thought, and to take at its true value the highly-coloured language of many passages.

An adequate use of the Breviary presupposes a more detailed acquaintance with the lives of the Saints than can be obtained from the Second Nocturn; these Lessons are merely an outline which Butler's Lives of the Saints v.g. duly and reliably supplement. There is a suspicion and prejudice against these Lessons which is by no means always justified. A critical revision in the light of modern research would omit surprisingly little. Reserve and reticence and respect for tradition are sure of the notes of modern scholarship; otherwise, in St. Augustine's phrase, we say what we think, not what we know. Mgr. Batiffol sums up the position by saying: "There would be room for correcting the corrections" of former correctors, and "for pointing that, in the most corrupt histories, there is generally some truth at the bottom, . . . and more than that, legends which are entirely untrue often have a value of some sort of their own; all that is necessary is that the reader should be forewarned as to their nature, and take them at their true value." He adds: "More indulgent, because more experienced, a more conservative spirit would be manifested by our liturgists of to-day in the editing of the historical portions of the lectionary than the congregation of Benedict XIV were willing to show; and our Bollandists would make a better correction of the Breviary without throwing overboard so much."

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The lessons of the second Nocturn are above reproach in the matter of geography. There are nearly five hundred place names, many of them obscure and unimportant and their Latin forms often difficult to identify, yet, in no instance, have I been able to find a mistake. An extensive knowledge of ancient and modern geography adds much interest to the Office; it is "the composition of place" recommended by writers on meditation; it gives a background and an atmosphere essential in reading the Bible. The Incarnation itself means that God the Son became man in the nature of a Palestinian Jew of the first century. I have recently published a booklet on the place-names of the Breviary, a study primarily to dispel my own ignorance; it is the only thing of its kind on sale, and it is easily the best!

Our Office would be much more interesting if we had a more intimate knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures. especially of the Vulgate which few of us—much to our loss—have ever read completely.18 In the prayers, tho antiphons, the homilies and responses there is constant quotation and allusion, sometimes bold and felicitous adaptation and neat embroidery which is very delightful when we know. It is difficult to say when St. Bernard v.g. is not using the exact words of Scripture and with what effect we all know. When St. Ambrose dwells on the mystic significance of the eight Beatitudes¹⁹ and goes on to say "pro Octava multi inscribuntur psalmi et mandatum accipis 'octo illis dare partem,' fortasse benedictionibus," he not only sees something significant in pro Octava the Vulgate title of certain psalms he is quoting with mystic intent, Eccles. xi. 2 " da partem septem nec non et octo " (=give to all and to more than all). This sermon which, it appears, was preached to the people presupposes a more detailed knowledge of

¹⁷ History of Breviary, p. 278.

¹⁸ "There is no work of Roman scholarship in any way equal to St. Jerome's translation of the Bible," Professor F. A. Wright, Fathers of the Church, p. 16.

¹⁹ The patristic interpretation of *numbers* is by no means fanciful; the question should be studied; see v.g. Augustine's Serm. 51 and 81.

the text of the Old Testament than could be counted

upon even among the clergy to-day.

Few of us would seem to be interested in the Hymns of the Breviary whether from a devotional or from a literary point of view. In most Seminaries they were scarcely ever mentioned, and it is high tribute to the Seminaries that they are supposed, by an indolent fiction, to have treated "de omni scibili et quibusdam aliis." Of recent years there has been a great revival of interest in Latin hymnody, especially among non-Catholics. Indeed, the time has gone by when scholars could look contemptuously at the work of our great hymnologists or when anybody could defend the ignorant mutilations of our venerable hymns under Urban VIII. There is abundant literature on the subject: here in England, Walpole's Early Latin Hymns with full and valuable Commentary; Blakeney's Hymns of the Western Church, a scholarly work by the Classical Master of Winchester College: Gaselee's delightful volume: The Oxford Book of Mediaval Latin Verse; and, quite recently, Raby's History of Christian Latin Poetry, full of interest and learning. Descleé of Tournai is publishing shortly for the Solesmes Benedictines the original text of the Hymns of the Breviary. Why should not our Catholic Laity be able to translate and read with intelligent interest and appreciation at least the great masterpieces? Why not give living interest to Latin in our schools through this delightful and useful medium, and why should not the clergy lead the way? It would, at any rate, keep some of our youngsters from saying: "Lord, they'd have taught me Latin in pure waste."

We cannot hope to appreciate or benefit much by our Office if we say it late in the evening when we are tired. How incongruous Jam lucis orto sidere in the night time! Most of us find the whole Office too much for one sitting. St. Benedict's ruling may be applied to the private recitation: In conventu brevietur oratio. Monks praying in the night sang appropriately Horis quietis psallimus. A quiet mind is as needful as a quiet place; what we take away depends on the measure we bring. For, of the Breviary it may be said: "Infinitus est thesaurus hominibus, quo qui usi sunt, participes facti

sunt amicitiae Dei."20

³⁰ Sap. vii. 14.

SERMONS AND GESTURE

By HILARY D. C. PEPLER.

ANY years ago the problem of public gesture presented itself to me unexpectedly at an Albert Hall meeting attended by King, Queen, Canterbury and others mighty in the Church of England. The anniversary there celebrated opened with prayer, the long row of Royalties stood up, turned and knelt... those who had been facing us were now seen at a new angle. Supporting their heads with both hands they became so intent upon their devotions as to be oblivious to the spectacle presented to the Press below and the galleries above. I shared this experience with a film producer and we decided to offer our knowledge of the technique of gesture to the army of chairmen, after-dinner speakers, bazaar openers and others who are called upon to perform in public and might wish to learn something of formal action for these formidable occasions.

We began our investigation upon the most common of public acts—how to stand up for the national anthem, salutations in the street and drawing room, problems involved over the escaped hat, strap hanging, getting married and, finally, the delivery of sermons. consulted with civilians about their funerals, sergeant-majors about military conventions, with actors about the stage, with housemaids about callers, tea-cups and asparagus, with the clergy, about many things which may not appear in the catechism but do in the pulpit. I have not covered half the ground we surveyed—there were judges, constables on point-duty, clerks, referees, even porters and railway guards from whom we received more tips than we gave. Unfortunately, not being a Royal Commission, there is no record of our deliberations, neither is there a minority report. Of all our witnesses the least helpful were the clergy, most of whom sheltered behind the assertion that if they looked after their meaning their hands would take care of themselves.

Some said: "We have our gestures fixed for us in the Mass, and in other liturgical functions, but not in the pulpit because there we have to say so many different things to so many different people on so many different

occasions that there can be no fixed rules." Others admitted to seminary recollections "we had elocution lessons from an actor," "we were given books, all of which were useless," "we were told to keep our palms out," "voice production but no gesture, we are not actors," gestures frighten people, too stagey." Few appeared to realize that some gesture is inevitable even if only in holding the bible or in ascending the pulpit. It is for this reason that I venture to offer some findings of this self-constituted Commission on Public Gesture.

"Any movement is a gesture and indicates something, even if only the fidgets. Aimless hands suggest a wandering mind, the play with spectacles distracts first the eye of the beholder and then his mind as listener, the clasped book may conjure up visions of a drowning man, and any nervous movement is apt to be contagious. As all meaningless and unnecessary movement or gesture lessens the force of the word spoken the speaker should be careful to let his right hand know what his left doeth."

Let us dispose of the preacher's few necessary and inevitable movements before proceeding to discuss those which he may employ for emphasis and elucidation. "The position of head, body, legs, arms or hands affects the voice, whether it proclaim the Word of God or give out the Notices." We will assume a pulpit with steps up to it and a commanding position over the congregation; it is this our subject has to mount. He is not climbing into the loft for a lost suitcase but ascending to a rostrum from which the souls of men are to be nourished, admonished and advised; consequently he is conscious of a grave responsibility. "His hand is laid upon the rail as though even it were receiving benedictions, and his eyes are raised, already seeking the inspiration he desires to impart to others." These few steps have obviously brought him nearer to heaven. "In the pulpit his first concern is to see that everything he may need is in its place." He opens the Bible with reverence, for he is like the Pope opening the Holy door, the action is a kind of cue to the Holy Ghost, inviting This done and "having no further use His descent. for his hands he puts them out of sight, behind his back." Then, and not sooner, he looks at the people. This is a Catholic gesture, not confined to the front rows but seeking out the remotest corner where a face may be turned towards him or a sinner be waiting for the word which will lead him to God. "This movement is not done with the head but with the whole body pivoted on the hips, hence his feet are a little apart so that his balance be not in jeopardy." Thereafter his only necessary gesture is this same turning of himself towards his listeners. His tongue is loosed, his eyes alone assist the Word in its momentous flight. "The descent from the pulpit has the same dignity as was given to the ascent, only that now he looks downwards," the spirit, having done its public work, retires within himself.

Far be it from me to ask any more of a priest in the way of gesture, but there are those who have the power to enliven utterance by the use of hands even to the knocking home of truth with their fists; to these would I be of service!

We must first note the nature of gesture, what is suitable to the confined space of a pulpit and permissible in the house of God.

"The nature of pulpit gesture is formal, and a formal act is an end in itself." By this we mean that it has no other purpose than to be. For example, "a soldier's action of salute is the salute and not a sign that he has a pain in his head." The preacher's hand pointing down at his congregation is saying: "You are the people to whom this word applies," that's what it is. It is not a sign of cramp in the arm or a signal to the door keeper to close the window. Now a formal act is based upon the natural act and there are nine rules for the making of it. It follows that any natural act applicable to the subject of the sermon may be brought into play.

In theory, therefore, "the number of gestures available is limited only by what is possible, intelligible, appropriate and desirable." Questions which can only be answered in relation to what has to be said, the sermon itself. As one sermon differs from another in glory let us take the earliest Christian sermon on record, St.

¹ Rules for the making of formal gesture: (1) It must retain the shape of the natural act. (2) It must be a complete act. (3) It must be suitable to time, place and people. (4) It must be distinct as a whole and in its parts. (5) It must be visible. (6) It must be exaggerated. (7) It must be constructed according to the nature of the members used. (8) It must include the whole body. (9) It must live.

Peter's to the people of Jerusalem on the first Pentecost (Acts ii. 14-36).

This is happily a short sermon; it is curious how many really important sermons share the same advantage.

I do not suppose that Saint Peter had prepared this sermon beforehand, but, as it is a practice I believe to be commended, we may assume that he did. We will also assume that he thought out his gesture at the same time, a forethought which is also to be commended. He

might have plotted it out as follows:

The point to get into their heads is that the Holy Ghost is among them as promised by Jesus, now manifestly the Messiah. Our gift of prophesy I can explain from the prophets (Quote Isaiah xliv. 3; Joel ii. 28). Shew them Jesus, the man they knew, as one approved of God, doing God's work and raised by God from the dead—exactly as foreseen by David (Quote Ps. cxxxi. 11). Consequent upon the resurrection (note Witnesses) is Jesus' return to God, His Father, thus releasing the Holy Ghost which they now see and hear. Messiahship therefore certain."

In this note he provides himself with his chief points. He would allow the minor reasons, incidents and explanations to pass with little action in order to bring the main issue into high relief. I see, however, an inclusive swing of the arm for "all you that dwell in Jerusalem" and a hand reaching out high towards heaven when he specially wished to emphasize "God," because it is God's authority he particularly invokes. Similarly he would often point to the people at the frequent "You" because his words are directed to those about him-imagine the whole bend of his body and the accusing finger sweeping over the crowd at verse 23. "You, by the hands of wicked men, have crucified and slain" your God. Such actions would be instructive, they would precede the words and be maintained during their utterance.

The considered gestures to be used at the high spots would be more carefully rehearsed. These are at verse 16 when he takes up the scroll to read from the prophets. He would make this a very emphatic action and sustain it until his hearers were all expectantly hungry for the words. Verse 22 when he comes to the introduction of "Jesus of Nazareth"; before uttering the name both

arms would be stretched out full in the form of the Cross, to be brought back slowly to his side that he might continue "a man approved," etc. Verse 24: His hands having been pointing down to the people (verse 23) would, after "raised up," be brought nearer together and slowly raised to the level of his face then lowered again to his sides before resuming his discourse. Verse 25 as at verse 16.

There would now be a period of inaction preparatory to the climax in verse 33. During the previous verse he would repeat the half action of "raising" as in verse 24 and thus, before "all we are witnesses," his arms would be stretched in front of him so that a slight movement of the hands would include the "all" who stood below him. His arms would so remain during "by the right hand of God" when he would raise his right arm, a position to maintain until after "the promise of the Holy Ghost," when he would raise his left arm so that both could sweep down together like a cataract at "poured," a gesture to synchronize with the word. Except for the usual action of emphasis at "most certainly" and the sign of the Cross at the name of Jesus, in the last verse, there would be no other movement.

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So far as I am able with a pen I have disclosed "the works," which is exactly what the preacher may never do. His actions must be formal but they should look natural and be done with ease, so much so that the congregation should not be aware of them. The action is a signal, not a display, designed to enforce the signal of the word. It is a deliberate act; haphazard and indeterminate gesture is no more to be tolerated than bad grammar, or an inconclusive sentence, in speech.

We often misuse the proverb "a good wine needs no bush" but I would quote it here in its exact sense, a good wine needs no strainer. It does need a clean bottle and it would seem actually to taste better out of a fine piece of cut glass than out of a tea-cup. It is thus with the word of God which needs not only to be well spoken but to be well poured out, gestured; coming from a rightly balanced and recollected mind and body (the clean bottle) it is the more likely to encourage the hearers into providing a pure heart (cut glass) for the receiving of it.

HOMILETICS

BY THE VERY REV. MGR. GONNE, M.A.

The Feast of the Holy Name.

Epistle (Acts iv. 8-12).

1. The name of Jesus chosen by God.

2. Its significance.

3. Its first invocation by St. Peter.

4. Its power and glory.

1. The name of Jesus, name pre-ordained and given by God Himself. The names of infants are given them with no reference to their powers, their character, their destiny in life, all of which are buried in the future. The name of Jesus was bestowed on Him because of His power, His character as the Incarnate Word, His destiny as the Redeemer of mankind. "Thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins." So spoke the angel to Joseph when he comforted him in his sleep and told him that that which was conceived in Mary was of the Holy Ghost. The same command had already been given to Mary by the Angel Gabriel. "Thou shalt bring forth a son; and thou shalt call his name Jesus."

And so it was done. At the circumcision "His name was called Jesus which was called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb" (Luke ii. 21).

- 2. This pre-ordainment of the name of the Incarnate Word is full of significance. It was to be for all future generations the Name of names. The sight, the utterance of it, were destined to bring before men's minds the figure of Him who is "the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature" (Col. i. 15). The invocation of the name was destined to bring healing to body and soul, "for there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved" (Acts iv. 12).
- 3. To-day's epistle relates an incidental part of a dramatic event. It was an event designed to set the name of Jesus ringing on the lips of the Jews and thundering in their ears. It was as though St. Peter were deliberately testing the power of the weapon now in his hand. The event took place shortly after the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles. In their new-found courage and strength the apostles were fearlessly preaching the gospel in Jerusalem. On this particular occasion Peter and John were entering the temple by the gate which is called Beautiful. There a lame man lay, begging alms. The lame man was a familiar figure for he was carried there every day, we are told. Here, then, was an opportunity entirely

suited to the exalted mood of Peter in those early days after The scene is set for fine dramatic effect the first Pentecost. and for singular display of power, a scene for rivetting the attention and rousing the imagination of the crowd. The Beautiful Gate of the Temple is thronged with people. The man "lame from his mother's womb" lies there helpless, importunately crying out for alms. Peter "fastening his eyes upon him, said 'Look upon us.'" The attention, not merely of the man, but of the crowd, is arrested by Peter's action and words. All wonder what Peter will give the man or do to him. Then suddenly, and for the first time, the power and might of the Name of names is invoked and made manifest to men. "Silver and gold I have none," cries Peter. Therefore, he is powerless to help, thinks the crowd. But, no, Peter says he has something else which it is in his power to give. "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth arise and walk." In a tide the almighty, healing power of that name flows down to earth. It washes over the lame man who "leaping up, stood and walked and went in with them into the temple, walking and leaping and praising God. And the people were filled with wonder and amazement.

4. This was the beginning of things done in His name. His own command to His disciples at the Last Supper had been explicit. "If you ask me anything in my name that I will do" (John xiv. 14). Again, "if you ask the Father anything in my name, he will give it you" (John xvi. 23). The name of Jesus is the password to the Father's favour, the passport into the Father's kingdom. "Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, through our Lord, Jesus Christ," is the untiring conclusion to all the Church's petitions to the throne of God.

But the name of Jesus is not merely a name of power—it is a name of glory. "God hath exalted him and hath given him a name which is above all names. That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow in heaven, on earth and under the earth" (Phil. ii. 10).

And, further, the name of Jesus, as St. Bernard reminds us, is light, food and medicine to us. Who amongst us has not experienced this? To murmur the name of Jesus in moments of doubt, of anxiety, of distress is to flood the mind with spiritual light, for it brings before us the figure of Him who is the "light shining in the darkness." To call upon the name of Jesus in moments of faintness and weakness is to fill our hearts with strength and courage. To invoke the name of Jesus when our souls are stained and poisoned with sin is to cleanse and heal and renew them.

And so the Church has given us this Feast in order that the Holy Name may shed its glory on our lives, may live in our hearts and rise to our lips and summon to our aid the presence of Him to whom "all power is given in heaven and on earth" (Matthew xxviii. 18).

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The Epiphany.

Gospel. (Matthew ii. 1-13).

1. The story of the Magi.

2. Our star of Bethlehem is the lamp of Christ's teaching.

3. The trust of the Magi contrasted with the world's want of trust.

4. The significance of their gifts.

1. The story of the Magi—strange, mysterious figures who appear like the dawn from the East and melt back into its twilight. Their coming and their going are mysterious, mysterious the star and mysterious their power of interpreting its meaning.

Yet, whilst mystery surrounds the Magi themselves, their sayings and doings are chronicled with careful detail by St. Matthew. They have seen his star in the east. To them it was nothing less than the Finger of God pointing to the spot where lay the new-born King of the Jews. Doubtless, many besides them had seen the star, but without any wonderment as to its possible meaning or purpose. In the same way, many see the light of Christ shining in the world and pointing the way to the heavenly kingdom. But they are not interested. They turn away and look at other things. Doubtless, too, many might have seen the star, but they kept their eyes on the earth, as people fix their attention on the things of the world and the flesh and blind themselves to the things of God.

Further, the Magi have not merely seen the star, they have followed it. In spite of the obstacles that must have been in their path, their faith and their courage drew them on. They were rewarded with the vision of the "light to the revelation of the Gentiles."

- 2. Like the star of Bethlehem, the lamp of Christ's example and teaching shines clear and steady. It points not to His earthly, but to His heavenly home. To follow its guidance we need the venture of faith, of courage, of high resolve. When these are wanting, our footsteps fail, the lamp grows dim. The Feast of the Epiphany celebrates the Manifestation of the little Christ-child to the Gentiles. But only those Gentiles will see Him who have the vision and the faith of the Magi.
- 3. The Magi were kings—men of some splendour in their lives, rich in apparel and in possessions. Yet "falling down they adored him." There was nothing resplendent, we may be sure, in the external appearance of the Child and His Mother. Only His star was the sign of His Kingship. "We have seen his star in the east," they said, "and have come to adore him." That was enough. The world is not so easily satisfied. It looks at the contemptible externals of Christ—His poverty, His scandalous death, and judges, without looking to the star of His life and teaching which proclaims, more clearly than did the star of Bethlehem, His Kingship and Godhead. Nay, more,

His reign in the hearts of men through twenty centuries of glorious Kingship leaves the world and worldlings blind to His power and splendour.

4. The Magi "opening their treasures, offered him gifts; gold, frankincense and myrrh." They gave external proofs of what was in their hearts.

They gave Him gold—perhaps a crown and a sceptre—as a symbol of His Kingship. Gold, certainly, they gave Him in token of the preciousness and purity of their loyalty and love. Our love we often rate so cheaply and our loyalty so dubiously that were we to make Him gifts as tokens we should be obliged to seek out some baser metal than gold.

They offered Him frankincense as a symbol of His Priesthood; in token, too, of the adoration and prayer that would rise around Him. We can now look back and see how true a token was this offering of the Magi. We think of the long procession of devout worshippers who through the ages have followed in the wake of the Three Wise Men to offer their homage to the little Christ-King. We think of the heartfelt prayer, the intense adoration that day and night for so many centuries have risen before Him, the Priest-Victim of Calvary.

They offered Him myrrh, bitter symbol of self-sacrifice, of self-denial, of sorrow. They divined in Him the Man of Sorrows "acquainted with griefs"; the Man bruised for our sins "in whose stripes we are healed." As myrrh when bruised breathes healing fragrance, so from His wounds have mankind drawn the breath of eternal life.

And so, on this the Feast of the Epiphany, we see the Magi and their gifts as symbols—themselves as symbols of those who seek Him, following the light of their faith; and their gifts as symbols of the love, the adoration and prayer, the contrition of mankind.

Sunday within the Octave of the Epiphany.

Feast of the Holy Family.

Gospel (Luke ii. 42-53).

- Feasts and devotions are instituted to respond to the needs of the times.
- 2. The institution of the Feast of the Holy Family.
- 3. Family life inside society.

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- 4. Obedience, humility, charity the key-notes of our Lord's life.
- 5. The same virtues characteristic of His family life and examples for the Christian family life.
- 1. Note how devotions, feasts, etc., are born out of and respond to the needs of the times. Like fire out of a flint, devotion to the Sacred Heart was struck out of the cold atheism and rationalism of the eighteenth century. Upon the jarred and fretted scene of the post-war period steps the gracious figure of

Christ the King, breathing peace, loyalty, love. The devotions of the day are indications of the disorders of the times.

- 2. The institution of the Feast of the Holy Family by Leo XIII and its extension to the universal church by Benedict XV point, therefore, to a decay in the virtues of family life during the last half-century. As the distractions of the times and the attractions of life outside the home and family circle increase and multiply, so do the virtues of family life diminish. People who have no regard and love for home life have none for home virtues. Parents who let the State usurp their functions and their rights lose in time the very sense of parental duty.
- 3. Yet the commonwealth is built on the unit of the family. The family comes before the State and its rights are prior to those of the State. The State exists to serve the family and not the family to serve the State. Hence the stand that Christians must make against the encroachments of the State, especially the totalitarian State; hence the stand that Catholics must make for the safeguarding of the religious education of their children.

For family rights to be respected, the family life must be lived, and family virtues practised. Parents must recognize and shoulder their definite responsibilities; children must recognize that parental authority is divinely instituted and must yield to their parents the obedience, the reverence, the affection to which they have a rightful claim.

4. So far all is in the natural order. Such principles must be recognized and accepted by families not even nominally Christian. In the Christian family a far higher degree of family virtue is to be looked for. The Christian home is the best school for the learning and practice of the typical Christian virtues, namely, obedience, humility, charity. These three virtues are the most characteristic of our Lord's life, most typical of the Christian character; and they are the test of Christian family life.

Our Lord's whole life was one of self-immolation. "Not my will but Thine be done." Obedience is the keynote of the Incarnation, of the Redemption, of the Christ-life.

Our Lord's whole life was one big gesture of humility. "Learn of me for I am meek and humble of heart." Humility is the keynote of His life.

Lastly, the Incarnation and Redemption are the embodiment of perfect charity. "As the Father hath loved me, I also have loved you. Abide in my love" (John xv. 9). "Greater love than this no man hath that a man should lay down his life for his friends" (John xv. 13).

Charity is the keynote of His life.

5. These three most Christ-like virtues shone with particular lustre in our Lord's family life and relationship. He was

obedient to Mary and Joseph. In St. Luke's simple and telling phrase—" he was subject to them."

He was humble. Whereas He spent three years in the founding of His kingdom, He spent ten times those many years in the lowly obscurity of His mother's home in Nazareth. This is the example He gives to those restless young people who in their middle teens find the ordinary restrictions of home life irksome, who seek selfish gratifications abroad and contribute little or nothing to the amenities of the fireside.

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He was loving. He found in the Holy Family both the outlet and the return of His love.

These Christ-like virtues He practised in the bosom of His own family, first of all for their own sake, because they were due from Him and due to Mary and Joseph. But also He practised them for the sake of example to us. The family life at Nazareth was the model family life, where the only strife was strife after perfection and the only rivalry was a rivalry in self-sacrifice. It remains for each and every Christian family to capture something of the atmosphere of the Holy Family of Nazareth, the atmosphere of joy and peace distilled from those virtues which our Lord came specially on earth to teach us.

Second Sunday after the Epiphany.

Gospel (John ii. 1-11).

- 1. The endearing quality of the miracle at Cana.
- 2. Its bearing upon Christian marriages.
- 3. Mary's share in the miracle.
- 4. The miracle a symbol of the atonement.
- 1. The story of the miracle at Cana of Galilee. The changing of the water into wine marks the first of our Lord's miracles. Later in His ministry, He performed many more striking miracles, healing the sick, casting out devils, raising the dead. But about this miracle at the marriage feast there are many tender and loving qualities which have endeared it to the hearts of Christians.
- 2. In the first place, the setting is so domestic, so familiar in every-day life. It is a marriage feast. There are the happy bride and bridegroom, their parents, relatives and friends. Among these last are Christ and His Mother and His disciples. How blessed and privileged the happy couple, we think. What would a Christian young man and his bride of to-day give to have Jesus sitting at their wedding breakfast and blessing their union by His gracious presence! What an augury that would be for their future happiness, for the sustained joy and peace of their marriage, for the virtue of their offspring! Their family, their entire household would live continuously in the sunshine of that special benediction.

And yet such a privilege is within reach of every Christian couple. For at every marriage solemnized by the Church Jesus is present, giving His blessing through the ministry of His Church. And an even greater privilege may be theirs, greater than having even the presence of our Blessed Lord. For if the young couple receive Holy Communion on the morning of their marriage Jesus is not merely present at the ceremony, He is the food and nourishment of their new life. The wine at their feast is not mere water changed into mere wine, it is the Wine of His own most Precious Blood.

And thus a similar or even greater augury for their future happiness and peace, for the virtue of their offspring and for a blessing on their household is the privilege of any bride and bridegroom who contract their union with all the grace that our Divine Lord has afforded them by instituting the sacrament of marriage. Nay, it is not too much to say that His presence at Cana was a guarantee, a pledge, of His loving presence at all Christian marriages worthily and sacramentally celebrated.

3. Further, the scene, the occasion are domestic because Mary is present. So little is actually recorded of her that we look at and treasure with eager love what the Gospels say of her. In a sense this is her miracle. She did not in words ask for it. But she knew that her Son would not refuse her unexpressed desire. "Whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye." In those few words we have Our Lady's confidence; nay, humanly-speaking, her power over Him. In those few words is expressed our power through her intercession.

Doubtless, our Divine Lord would have performed the miracle even had Mary not betrayed her anxiety, but it does seem as though He wanted to perform it because of her solicitude. He knew the need, but He waited for her to point it out before supplying it. No action of our Divine Lord is without infinite meaning and significance. It is as though He says to us: "When Mary, my mother and yours, tells me of your needs I will supply them." Mary, the advocate at Cana of Galilee is set before us as our advocate.

4. The water made wine. The miracle itself is a symbol of our Lord's work in us. Our lives may seem meaningless; they may seem drab and uninteresting; they may seem lacking in purpose. But all lives are like that, they are that, till He comes and changes them, till He turns them from the water of the natural life to the wine of the supernatural. In the miracle at Cana of Galilee we may see a symbol of the Atonement. For by the Atonement Christ transforms us, He incorporates us with Himself. He is the Vine of which we are become the branches. The sap we draw from Him changes our whole being. Our daily lives, our actions, our final end are charged not with the natural but with the supernatural. This is the good wine of the Redemption, the Wine of His Precious Blood.

Third Sunday after the Epiphany.

Gospel (Matthew viii. 1-13).

- Two miracles remarkable for what our Lord says in performing them.
- 2. The leper a symbol of the sinner.
- 3. The wish of our Lord to cleanse sinners.
- 4. The faith and trust of the centurion—complete and childlike. Such faith and trust necessary for salvation, but despised by the world, which, in its self-sufficiency, repudiates the teaching of Christ and its interpretation by the Church.
- 1. In to-day's Gospel St. Matthew records two miracles worked by our Lord, setting them together, not because they occurred at the same time, but because he is eager to show in the early stages of his Gospel, the power of Christ to heal the ills of mankind.

And in both these miracles we are given a lesson rather in what our Lord says than in what He does. In other words our Lord does not merely work the miracle; He is at pains to point out in each case something more significant and universal than the miracle itself. This, in fact, is His usual practice. He uses His miracles as occasion for the demonstration of some striking point in His teaching.

2. The cleansing of the leper has always been the favourite illustration of the cleansing of sin. Of all bodily diseases, leprosy is the most loathsome, the most contagious, the most devastating, the most incurable. It is living death. He who carried it in his body was looked upon as already dead. He was forbidden all intercourse with the living. His abode was with the dead, for he was condemned to drag out such life as he had in the tombs and sepulchres outside the walls of the city.

No bodily affliction, therefore, could be a more gruesome and, therefore, fitting illustration of that affliction of the soul we call sin. Like the leper, the sinner is in a state of living death. He forfeits life, not indeed with living men and women, but with the living God. Before God's face he is an outcast.

- 3. But notice the words of our Lord when cleansing the leper. "I will," He says, "be thou made clean." He wills and wants it. It is the cry of the Sacred Heart longing to cleanse not merely this particular leper but the sinner and all sinners. It is as though He says to each of us sinners: "See how this leper comes to me in his misery. I long for you to come to me as he comes. Approach me with a like faith and trust. It is my desire to heal and cleanse you. But you must approach near to me—near enough for me to touch you and even embrace you."
- 4. The second miracle is quite a different one with quite a different lesson for us—a lesson which again our Lord points

out. Here there is no horror of corruption and decay as in the case of the leper. In fact, the sick man is not present at all. It is his master that approaches our Lord and begs for the cure. Jesus offers to go and heal the servant. And then comes the classic reply of the centurion, classic because it has become the property of all men in every age; a reply which has been lifted by the Church straight from the lips that uttered it and set in the words of the Mass; a reply repeated by every priest at the moment of his Holy Communion and pronounced over the people at the moment of theirs. "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof, but only say the word." Our Lord has only to speak, and the cure of our souls, like that of the centurion's servant, is assured.

The words are the classic combination of faith and humility. They were so startling that they drew an expression of wonderment from our Blessed Lord. "And Jesus hearing this, marvelled and said to them that followed him; Amen I say to you I have not found so great faith in Israel."

Note that it is not merely the faith of the centurion that He praises, but a particular kind or quality of faith. It is the kind of faith that believes and accepts without requiring anything further than the word and will of God. No visible token is asked for, no assurance, no dramatic proof. We can well imagine that the centurion left our Lord with no kind of doubt in his mind that his servant was healed. He would not hurry back to see if it were all true. He would not, on reentering his house, look with doubting eyes on the figure of the sick man. Nay, he would confidently expect to find him waiting on the threshold full of health and life.

It is this particular kind of faith that our Lord praises—the trust, the confidence that are characteristic of the child. This is what He meant when, on another occasion later, He answered His disciples' inquiry as to who was the greater in the kingdom of heaven by setting a little child in the midst of them and saying: "Amen, I say unto you unless you be converted and become as little children you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew xviii. 3). Now we can never recapture the innocence of childhood, but we can recapture something of its love-trust. In fact, to be Christians at all we must recapture something of it. The conversion our Lord refers to is a turning away from trust in self. Christianity is everywhere the enemy of self, but it is more the enemy of self-sufficiency than of self-indulgence, as it is more the enemy of pride than of weakness.

This is the lesson the world will not learn. The children of this world are wiser in their own generation than the children of light. Worldly-minded people are they who set standards and pronounce judgments of their own making, without any reference to the teaching of Christ. They have refused to be converted out of their self-sufficiency into a dependence on God. The main characteristic of childhood is docility—a willingness, not so much to learn, as to be taught. Worldly-minded people

are not willing to be taught, however ready they may be to learn and experiment for themselves. They reject the claims of Christ to teach them; they repudiate the claims of the Church as the teacher of faith and morals. Religion is all right in its place, they say. But when it begins to interfere with my private life; when it probes into the intercourse between husband and wife; when it lays down hard principles about birth control, about divorce and other such problems, individual and social, then it is time to put religion in its place.

This we all know is the common attitude of the day. We cannot wonder, then, that the day is so unchristian. We can have faith in Christ only when we listen to Him, when we believe that He meant what He taught us and that His Gospel is given us for daily living as well as for Sunday reading. Further, we can be truly Christian only when we are prepared to be taught not merely what He said but what He meant, without putting our own interpretation on His words to suit our own purpose, as children accept from their parents not merely a code of conduct and behaviour but its interpretation and explanation. For such an interpretation and explanation of Christ's teaching we have only one source—the divinely-founded and divinely-guided Church whom He commanded through the apostles to teach all nations.

NOTES ON RECENT WORK

I. ASCETICAL AND MYSTICAL THEOLOGY.

BY THE REV. J. CARTMELL, D.D., Ph.D., M.A.

Of all the books recently published Progress Through Mental Prayer, by the Rev. Edward Leen, C.S.Sp., deserves to be treated first. It is not a bulky book; but bulk is no measure of worth either in creation or in the works of man. It is outstanding in the qualities that make a book worth writing and worth reading. It is in every sense a remarkable exposition of the discipline of normal prayer. Fr. Leen has mastered the theology of prayer; and he here presents it firmly and yet easily, and without any parade of technical terms; and he applies it to life with a zeal, wisdom, insight and helpfulness that are born of personal meditation and varied experience.

The book has three parts. The first is descriptive; it sets forth the aim of prayer, the need of perseverance if one is to reap advantage from it, the nature of vocal prayer, and the essence, advantages and difficulties of the four degrees of mental prayer, namely, meditation, affective prayer, the prayer of simplicity, and passive prayer. The second part deals with the method of mental prayer. After a preliminary chapter on prayer as a growth of faith, as faith freeing itself from the deadening influence of human views, the author goes on to develop a general method of mental prayer. He follows none of the standard methods absolutely, but draws out what may be said to be common to them all. His treatment here, as indeed in the rest of his book, shows a certain refreshing originality; it is new without being novel. The third part discusses the elements which are required for progress in prayer. They are (1) certain dispositions, namely, purity of conscience, mind, heart, and will, strong devotion, self-knowledge, and the Christian motive (love of the liturgy and so living membership of Christ's body); (2) spiritual reading; (3) mortification; (4) silence.

The main lines of Fr. Leen's thought can be indicated by selections from his Introduction. "The spiritual life is sometimes spoken of as the seeking after perfection. If this be understood to mean that the man aiming at spirituality is to set before him his own perfection as an object after which he is to strive, it is apt to lead to serious mistakes in the spiritual struggle. It is true that the development of a full spiritual life involves in its attainment man's perfection; yet it is not precisely at this perfection that he must aim, but at God. . . .

¹ Sheed & Ward. pp. x., 276. 7s. 6d.

The spiritual life may be more clearly, simply and correctly described as the 'cultivation of intimacy with God.' . . . To become intimate with God, the soul has only to become intimate with Jesus. . . . Man can grow in friendship with God by growing in friendship with One Who is a fellow-man. . . . Love not only binds the soul to Jesus, but has the intrinsic effect of assimilating it to Him." "One has only to be humble after the model of Jesus and all else will follow. . . . Humility consists in making God all and oneself nothing. . . . It is the complete obliteration of all the false claims of self, in face of the all-pervading sovereignty of God. All that is required on the part of the Christian to make perfect his calling, is to efface himself before God. Hence it is that the whole burden of the Saviour's teaching to men is the practice of self-abnegation. Self-abnegation is something much larger than either suffering or mortification. . . . Prayer, properly carried out, will have as its effect the gradual revelation to the soul of the disease of self-love, which so intimately penetrates the very fibre of its being as to pass unobserved by the person that does not lead an interior life. In prayer the soul gradually draws into the radiant purity and truth of the soul of Jesus. It becomes bathed in and penetrated through and through with that radiance; and in this splendour all in it that is of self and not of God, all that is in it unlike Jesus, stands clearly revealed to that soul's own gaze. When this unlikeness is purged away by the action of suffering and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, then the close union of the soul with God takes place."

If I venture to criticize one or two features in the book, I do not wish thereby to lower my assessment of its general excellence.

Fr. Leen says (of the prayer of simplicity): "Even when prayer has attained a high degree of simplification and the work of the understanding has become almost negligible in comparison with the work of the will, still the functioning of the faculties is perfectly natural. This functioning can be apprehended and is a definite object of consciousness" (p. 133). This last remark is true sometimes; but not when the prayer is dry, as it often is, and distractions abound to blur the consciousness. He says that passive prayer is dark, but not this active simplicity. fact is that both are dark, and active contemplation runs into passive in such a way that it is difficult to know in the concrete where one ends and the other begins. They have a period of merging, as all degress of prayer have. When he speaks of full passive prayer the author seems to be not quite consistent with The inconsistency comes from his identifying, in at least part of his description, passive prayer with an awareness of God's presence. But the two can be distinguished according to the common image of a cloud and a ray piercing it now and For the most part, a soul in true passive prayer lives in a vaguely luminous darkness, experiencing in the will (but not necessarily in the imagination or the feelings) a sense of calm and well-being, because there is Someone somewhere in the darkness. Just occasionally it may be aware that He is near, and no longer indefinitely somewhere; and that is the special experience and rapture, the glimpse of Thabor. Fr. Leen does not make clear enough the nature of continuous passive prayer. However, this chapter of his book is outside his main theme, which is the nature of prayer of the ordinary soul.

As a second, and minor criticism, I would suggest that the book ends rather abruptly. It needs a short epilogue to round it off.

The Dictionnaire de Spiritualité has now reached fascicle V.3 The new fascicle closes with an unfinished article on bibliothèques. It opens with the last two columns of the long article on St. Basil. This is an important article, because, in explaining St. Basil's spirituality, it explains the universal character of his rule and makes clear the prudence, moderation and harmony that characterized this very great Greek Father. From reading the accounts of the solitaries in the Egyptian and Syrian deserts one is apt to gather the impression that the East was given over to an excessive asceticism. But the authorities of the Church in the East, particularly at Antioch and in the purer Greek parts, did not countenance excess.

The fascicle contains a very great number of short biographies. The three important lives are those of St. Benedict, St. Bernard and Cardinal de Bérulle; they are all careful studies of the thought and influence of their subjects. The two longest lives that have a special interest for English readers are those of St. Bede, of whom Canon Vernet gives a sympathetic appreciation, and of Benedict of Canfield, who was the accepted master of the spiritual life within his own Capuchin order, and who exercised an unrivalled influence in fashioning the mode of prayer of the seventeenth century. Benedict XIV's position in the spiritual sphere is summed up as that of a great collector of the traditions of the fruitful age that was just ending; he was pre-eminently a canonist, not a spiritual writer. The important general articles deal with the Beatitudes, the Béghards, Blessings, the Benedictines, and the History of Libraries of Spiritual Books (unfinished).

Fifty-two of the sermons of Dr. Arendzen, which have appeared in the Catholic Times, have been published in the permanent form of a book, under the heading, Things Temporal and Timeless.³ The majority are based on the Epistles of the Sundays, but a few deal with a feast or a Saint's day; some are dogmatic, others moral, others again devotional. All are characterized by the careful thought, balance of judgment, wise moderation, earnest eloquence and subtle atmosphere of the

Paris, Beauchesne. 20 fr.

Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. pp. viii., 171. 3s. 6d.

supernatural which constitute the distinctive charm of their distinguished author. All who meditate them will look forward to the further volume of similar selections which we are promised.

A Spiritual Consolation and Other Treatises, by St. John Fisher, and The Four Last Things, by St. Thomas More, are re-editions.4 They were published in a different format in 1903. A Spiritual Consolation contains a short treatise with that title and another short treatise on Ways to Perfect Religion, and a sermon on the Passion. The treatises were written by the Saint during his imprisonment when the imminence of his martyrdom intensified his supernatural penetration; they are addressed to his sister, Elizabeth, who was a Dominican nun at Dartford. The date of the sermon is unknown; it was first published in the year of the Saint's martyrdom. The treatise of St. Thomas More is unfinished. It was written in 1522, soon after he had been knighted. It thus shows the unworldly trend of his thought in the midst of earthly honours and emoluments. The present text is a slightly modernized version of Rastell's edition, published in 1557, in his collective "Workes of Sir Thomas More, Knyght, sometyme Lorde Chauncellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge." It is very characteristic of St. Thomas's quaint and winsome treatment of a severely earnest subject.

Among recent biographies I may mention Saint John Bosco, by Mother Forbes, an attractively-written, popular account; Pierre Bouscaren, S.J., an intimate spiritual autobiography of a saintly young American Jesuit, extracted from his diary and correspondence; and Little Anne, the story of Anne de Guigné and her heroic sanctity. This last life is the first of a series of "Lives" for children. In it Uncle Simon of the Universe sets out the life of the holy child and the nature of her sanctity in a simple, beautiful style, eminently suited to children.

Histoire Exacte des Apparitions de Notre-Dame de Lourdes à Bernadette, and Histoire Exacte de la Vie Intérieure et Religieuse de Sainte Bernadette⁸ have a unique place in the literature of Lourdes. They are the last works of the late Père Petitot, O.P., who won for himself in his all too short life a surpassing reputation as an interpreter of sanctity. For the second of these two works the writer had access to intimate documents, such as St. Bernadette's notebook, that had not hitherto been made public.

⁴ Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 2s. 6d. each.

⁵ Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. Six illustrations. pp. 172. Only 2s. 6d.

The Bruce Publishing Company; London, Coldwell. pp. x., 147. 6s. 6d.

⁷ Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1s.

⁸ Desclée de Brouwer. 12 fr. each.

II. HISTORY.

BY THE REV. PHILIP HUGHES, L.Sc. Hist.

We have in the first volume of Messrs. Bloud & Gay's new enterprise the best of testimony that the development of historical studies among Catholics continues to go forward. As we look back to the wretched state of things that obtained, say, sixty years ago, when such uncritical compilations as Duruy and Darras gave the law to Israel in matters historical, to a time when the unusual fact of a scientific knowledge of sources could isolate and embitter a Döllinger and render Newman suspect, we cannot but be grateful for the progress since made. achievement of Duchesne and Batiffol (to make mention only of two who are gone), the Séminaire Historique of Louvain and the Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique that issued from it, the Analecta Bollandiana and the patient work of Catholic scholars in other centres too, are slowly beginning to bear all the fullness of their fruit. After the specialists came good manuals for the classroom and technical reviews. Now we have the beginnings of a work that links up the work of the specialist and the needs of the teacher and which should make not only possible but almost easy the provision of a really good course of Church History in every seminary and college. To judge by this first volume it promises indeed to be so useful that one might almost fear a repetition of the unhappy effect that followed the composition of the Liber Sententiarum of Peter Lombard. So rich was the selection of relevant patristic texts provided by this classic that henceforward the teacher who knew his Fathers in themselves was a rarity.

The new enterprise promises the full History of the Church in twenty-four volumes of about 500 pages each. In the list of specialists to whom the different volumes are allotted we note all the great names of contemporary Catholic historical scholarship—Bardy, Amann, Louis Bréhier, Edouard Jordan, Arquillière, Le Bras, Constant, Albert De Meyer. How easy, then, comparatively speaking, will be the task of whoever shall set out to write an elementary introduction to Church History with the documented conclusions of such an array of workers in the single shelf above his writing table! How insidiously simple the task of the lecturer!

The present volume begins with a survey of the religious condition of the Roman World at the time of our Lord's birth, describes the work of our Lord in the foundation of the Church and then, after this introduction of 125 pages, surveys the work of the Apostles (pp. 127-259). Two chapters paint the picture of Christian life at the end of the first and second centuries respectively, and two more deal with the persecution under

¹ Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, publiée sous la direction de Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin. Tome I: "L'Eglise Primitive," par J. Lebreton et Jacques Zeiller. Paris: Bloud & Gay. pp. 474. 60 francs.

Nero, Domitian and the princes from Trajan to Commodus. There is a useful chapter on the Apostolic Fathers and another on the Apologists. The questions of the primitive organization of the Church, of its expansion within and without the empire are also allotted each its special chapter.

The book is very readable, and is generously enriched with quotations from the sources used. Its authors have gone to the very sources for their information and, at the same time, they show themselves thoroughly at home with the modern works of all schools on their subject, and they usefully indicate where such modern works do not fairly reproduce the witness of the sources. There is a good bibliographical introduction and enough notes to trace the authors' reasons for their principal assertions, but, alas, there is no index until we come to Volume XXIV!

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Two more volumes of the great work on the origins and development of European Civilization,² planned by Mr. Edward Eyre, are now to hand, those namely which treat of Rome and Christendom (pp. 696, 15s.) and The Middle Ages (pp. 888, 18s.). It is an immense task that the seven writers who contribute to these volumes share, to survey and to discuss the value of the forces which built up and were the civilization of Western Europe for nearly two thousand years. In the first of these two handsome volumes it is the Romans, the Celts and the Catholic Church that are, turn by turn, the objects of their If we have a criticism to make it is that more space was not allotted Dr. Brown for his study of Catholicism in its formative period, and—without hinting any belittlement of Mr. Millar's able paper-we think the book would have gained had the concluding essay been assigned to whoever was chosen to write on Catholicism. In Volume III we have the most welcome chance that M. Jean Guiraud writes there the history of religious dissent in the early Middle Ages and also describes the decline of the Gospel's hold on the Catholics of the two hundred and fifty years that lie between St. Thomas and Martin Equally welcome is Professor Taylor's essay, that Luther. links this volume with its two predecessors, on Ancient and Mediæval Philosophy—the most succinct and up-to-date account of the subject we possess. The most weighty contribution to the volume is, however, from M. Douglas The Development of Mediæval Europe, which occupies some 350 pages, and, a book in itself, should provoke much thought.

In the short note that is all space in such a chronicle as this allows, we can do no more than heartily commend this work and congratulate all those concerned in its production, with a special word of praise for the admirable equipment of maps.

There are some books which bring home to one very vividly that the study of mediæval Church History is still in its infancy and one such book certainly is Mr. Geoffrey Barraclough's

Published by Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford.

Papal Provisions. Aspects of Church History, Constitutional, Legal and Administrative, in the Later Middle Ages.³ For this slender book is one of the rare attempts to set out something of the story of the development of the Church's administrative system. It is a prelude to one of the greatest of all desiderata for whoever wishes to understand the how and why of the Church's action, namely, a Constitutional History of Catholicism.

The subject of this book is that famous system of administration that brought the Apostolic Roman See into the process, by which, throughout the Church, the thousands, the tens and hundreds of thousands, of beneficed clerics were appointed. It is system that has met with harsh criticism from most historians. from Catholics no less than from Protestants. Mr. Barraclough does not attempt to re-write the history of that system-or rather to write it, for so far it has not been written at all. He merely gives his reasons for rejecting what he calls the "orthodox" view of the system-and in doing so he lays down a doctrine which must revolutionize the ideas generally held about the aims of the thirteenth and fourteenth century popes. The old view can no longer be held, and we can only suspend judgment, on many of these questions, until the author and the other scholars whom the subject occupies, have pushed their investigations some considerable way further.

What has he so far established? That the truth about Papal Provisions would be the truth about the health of the Church in the later Middle Ages we might have guessed. It is now revealed that with their history is bound up the truth about the thirteenth century popes as continuators of the reforms associated with St. Gregory VII. So far historians have explored the subject of Provisions from the postulate that the system was chiefly a means to bring money into the papal treasury, and, presumably, was instituted for that purpose. This book leaves no doubt of the superficial and wholly erroneous nature of such an assumption. Provisions originated not in the papacy but in the needs of the clergy, who turned to the popes as alone capable of providing a remedy against the indifference or the partiality of their own bishops or against the oligarchical spirit that kept the capitular benefices locked against all but the noblesse. Papal Provisions were a check on the tendencies of chapters to become close corporations, and on the rapacity of the local great families. The system is in fact yet another witness to the marvellous persistance of the papal will to reform local abuses and to continue, through one generation after another, its fight to save the secular clergy from captivity to aristocratic lay interests. As for the blame for the crash in the sixteenth century, "any attempt to-day to settle the whole burden of responsibility on the papacy and its administration of benefices and finance is doomed to failure."

The author is, of course, by no means blind to the abuses

Basil Blackwell. pp. xvi., 187. 10s. 6d.

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that disfigured the system as time went on, and realizes how, ultimately, the papacy capitulated to the material interests it had fought for so long. It came to be said, seriously, of the members of the Sacred College that "Like a soldier a Cardinal must live on plunder." The author makes clear, too, how even the reforming popes of the time did not dare to push reform measures too far lest worse evils befell the Church—a constitutional crisis of the first order and possibly a permanent disruption of unity.

The study of the failure of the fourteenth century popes to reform the Curia leads the author to an investigation of the origin of what really caused that failure, namely, the current canon-law conception of the *ius beneficiale* which assimilated the benefice to a property in the civil-law sense of the word, and made it an object of private right rather than of the public interest. From this flowed, truly enough, the evil consequence that the Church's chief concern in all that touched the benefice was to legislate for the protection of the private rights involved. The public interest was coming to be a secondary consideration.

Here, in place of the rhetoric usual at this point, comes the author's learned analysis of how this assimilation began and of the undoubted advantages which followed on the system by which the pope did not confer benefices as an administrator but left each case to the decision of a court. Here we touch upon the essence of the papal provision and we learn-most of us probably for the first time—that provision to a benefice by the pope did not confer a ius in re but merely a ius ad rem, and that the provision simply put the cleric provided in the position of a plaintiff, and the ordinary collator—bishop, chapter or individual patron, as the case might be—in the position of defendant. The provision was then no more than the first step to an action in the Church court, an action where all objections to the provision could be—and usually were—well stated and influence the court's decision. The system as it developed was most carefully designed to secure that the best man was appointed and as to the class of clergy in whose interests the system was developed, and by whose needs it first came into being, we may quote Mr. Barraclough: "In general, however, we can say that those who used papal provisions were men who, owing to their particular situation, had small expectation of preferment at the hands of the bishops; clerics, for example, who had no bishop except the Roman pontiff, converts, members and officials of the curia who had left their dioceses to work in the central bureaucracy, and above all clerks who had left their homes and gone to the universities in search of knowledge. On the other hand we find the pope writing in a large number of cases on behalf of clerks who had laboured faithfully and devotedly in their churches for many years, and were still without preferment. It is right to insist on the frequency and importance of this class of letter."

This has been a long note on a short book, but it is only

right to say that this short book is one of the most important studies in mediæval church history that has ever appeared in English. It represents years of work, not only in the details of the Papal Registers but also—the thing that stamps its author as a real force in historical scholarship—work on the many, as yet unpublished, treatises on the law of Provisions written by the thirteenth and fourteenth century canonists who administered the system and, in administering it, developed it.

Mr. Barraclough is a pioneer whose industry and courage and skill we cannot too highly praise. Incidentally he is another distinguished recruit to that band of whom Mr. O'Sullivan wrote in the Clergy Review for April last, for Mr. Barraclough is not a Catholic.

Edmund Campion by Evelyn Waugh is a book we cannot but highly recommend. In the portrayal of the heroic career of this brightest figure of all our Counter-Reformation epic Mr. Waugh's many gifts find all the scope they need. He modestly disclaims any merit of originality. He has merely studied what is already available in print and retold a story already familiar. This is true, but what a re-telling it is! The spare phrasing, the careful artistry of the words, the ability to sum up a character in a line, to paint a whole generation in a couple of pages, the gift that fills the short book with incident, discussion and characterization and vet leaves no impression of over-crowding-these are gifts indeed and reveal a master of his craft. Never has there been a more skilful delineation of the essential Allen, nor a more living picture of the England of Matthew Parker's episcopate. The account of Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in 1568, or of the country through which Edmund Campion rode in 1580, are again samples of many passages which mark the book as a definite accession to the small collection of really good books written by English Catholics in modern

We must commend Mr. Waugh too for his skill in dealing with the delicate situation, and a tact which—in delineating exempli gratia, Fr. Robert Persons—rises at times to high comedy.

One criticism only—Mr. Waugh's sense of the humorous should at times surely be "acted against." The funny remark about the prostitute on page 122 is horribly out of place, and the page of merriment on the alleged reluctance of an old man of eighty to face the horrors of an execution for treason is a real blemish.

The many friends of the Redemptorist Order and the many who have associations with their famous London parish will welcome the latest fruit of Fr. Stebbing's industrious and competent activity.⁵ In this well-illustrated little book they will

^{*} Edmund Campion, by Evelyn Waugh. Longmans. pp. 225. 6s.

⁶ History of St. Mary's, Clapham, by the Rev. George Stebbing, C.SS.R. Sands & Co. pp. 153. 35. 6d.

find not merely the history of a parish but a memorial of the self-sacrifice of three generations of devoted clergy and of the continuous generosity of the people they have served. And what great names they are that fill these pages! There is, for example, the late Cardinal Archbishop with all the principal acts of whose life the church was associated from his baptism to his ordination, his entry into Westminster as Cardinal and his sacerdotal golden jubilee only last year; then Fr. Robert Coffin, later Bishop of Southwark; Fr. Hugh Macdonald, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen; Fr. Edmund Vaughan; and Fr. Bridgett, the pioneer to whose work all our knowledge of St. John Fisher and St. Thomas More owes so much. We congratulate Fr. Stebbing on this record of a story so well worth the telling.

III. LITURGICAL ARTS AND CRAFTS.

BY THE REV. J. P. REDMOND.

The Company of St. Paul, founded by the late Cardinal Ferrari, is a society composed for the greater part of laymen and women who, in simple vows and following a religious rule, live in the world and take active part in the apostolate in many and varied ways.

The Company endeavours to turn to account in the service of Christian religion the many advantages presented by modern progress. Not a few of the members are artists, and they work zealously in their countries of origin, to raise the standard of art in the service of the Church to the lofty heights of excellence which obtained throughout Europe in the centuries previous to the corrupting influences of the reformation and renaissance.

Last July an informal meeting of delegates of the Company and members of the Guild of Catholic Artists and Craftsmen was held at the Breakspear Club, for the purpose of discussing proposals for inaugurating in England, a periodical to be devoted exclusively to Catholic art. A lady member of the Company, an Italian, gave an interesting account of what was being done in her own country. It was agreed, however, that English Catholics would require something more attractive, better printed and better illustrated, than the cheaply-produced popular type of journal which finds favour in Italy and France. No definite conclusions were formed: it was fully realized that in view of the heavy costs of production, of the comparative smallness of the English Catholic population, and of the fewness of artists specializing in Catholic work, to launch a Catholic art magazine would be a difficult and risky adventure.

In our own times, by means of lectures, study-circles, Press notices, demonstrations, and teaching in the schools, the faithful have been educated to an appreciation of plainsong. Little has been done so far to train them to an understanding and appreciation of liturgical art. The average Catholic takes things as he finds them in his parish church; there are few

who can recognize the difference between good stained glass and bad, or the superiority of sculpture over plaster confections turned out by the mould. The taste of the ordinary devout person is vitiated by the showy conventional pious objects which he sees in the windows of the repositories and, often enough, in the churches. Some of the clergy are to blame, for, as Father Michael Chapman remarks in his amusing but instructive book, Peregrinus Goes Abroad, they continue to have recourse to "Catalogus & Co." because their so-called liturgical goods "are handy, save bother and money."

On the other hand, in the experience of priests who have tried to restore beauty to their churches by a faithful observance of liturgical requirements, our people are quick to respond; they soon learn to love the better things, and these are not necessarily the most expensive. The laity could be educated in the ways of liturgical art by much the same means as those which have been so successful in reviving the chant. It has been suggested that the Guild of Catholic Artists and Craftsmen should, at a small charge, open the doors of their monthly meetings at Westminster, for lectures and discussions, to the general public. For some time the Council of the Guild has, in fact, been giving consideration to a scheme for organizing, apart from Guild meetings, a set course of popular lectures. The Guild Council would gladly choose experts to lecture, by invitation, in colleges, schools, and parish halls. Lectures, as we all know, make a more lasting impression than private reading, and a widespread movement of lectures should have highly satisfactory results. Exhibitions also are a valuable means of stimulating interest. This year there have been two. For the second time the Guild has restricted the annual exhibition exclusively to liturgical and religious art. quantity and quality this year's exhibition admittedly fell short of that of 1934. It is hoped, however, that by giving the organizing committee several months to prepare, instead of weeks, and by giving a similarly extended notice to prospective exhibitors, the exhibition of next year may be an event of outstanding importance which also, by a more liberal use of advertising, may attract a much larger attendance. The Grail exhibition was more general in character. The exhibits were, for the greater part, the works of amateurs; the quality on the whole was very good, and in a few instances strikingly original. The great value of this exhibition was that it was a revelation of the splendid cultural influence towards liturgical art which the Grail movement is quietly asserting.

In many of our churches, more noticeably in the older ones than in those recently built, it is impossible to obey the rubrical and liturgical prescriptions of the Church for the simple reason that they are structurally defective. We come into a faulty inheritance which could only be remedied by ruthless dismantling and costly reconstruction. In the past, architects have erred through ignorance of the laws of the Church and

the requirements of the liturgy, and priests have relied too much upon their architects. In how many of our older churches. for example, do we find the altar actually built into a massive reredos which in turn is piled up flat against the sanctuary wall! Leaving aside other considerations, for purposes of consecration it is impossible for the bishop, in the event of consecration, to pass around the altar as the Pontifical prescribes. There should always be a space between the altar and the wall or, if there be one, the reredos. How frequently also is the tabernacle encased in the masonry of the reredos, so that the only practical form of veil is a curtain hanging in front of the door, whereas the tabernacle should be covered on all four sides! Worse still; not uncommonly the only convenient position for exposing the Blessed Sacrament, unless upon the altar itself, which is, of course, correct if there be, as there should always be, a canopy or ciborium, is a niche high up in the reredos necessitating the unsightly use of a step-ladder. Moreover, in these cases the cross has to be placed in the same place which is used for exposition, and this is strictly forbidden. A flat-topped tabernacle, a late introduction, is tolerated; but it is a grave irregularity to use the top for exposition, for the cross, for candlesticks, flowers, or anything else. The Church attaches great reverence and importance to the baptistry, but, sadly enough, this essential seems to have been quite forgotten in the building of some churches, and we find a poor font, unworthy of the Sacrament, standing unprotected in a dismal corner.

These few instances, chosen from many, show how urgent it is that those who have a practical interest in church-building should acquaint themselves with the laws and directions of the Church. To meet this need a number of artists and priests, members of the Guild, have formed themselves into a small confraternity, under the title of the Company of St. Joseph, which assembles once a month for liturgical study. The Company is affiliated to Prinknash Priory. Father Chapman has shrewdly noted that although the Church wisely does not legislate in matters of taste, and does not concern herself with styles, period, decoration, she does insist on certain regulations, and when her directions are followed, the result is strikingly beautiful and effective. The members of the Company are making a close study of these regulations, and hope to embody their findings in a book for the use of clergy and architects.

Another healthy sign is the interest in liturgical art which is growing up in our convent schools. During the summer vacation, Mr. Geoffrey Webb, the well-known ecclesiastical artist, author of *The Liturgical Altar*, lectured on the subject at a congress of teaching sisters representing some hundreds of convents. The significance of this occasion is magnified in view of the fact that it is in convent chapels that we find the most flagrant violation of rubrics and decrees.

A Catholic lady artist, also a member of the Guild, has opened

a school at Chelsea which she intends to develop as a centre of Catholic art; already this school has produced a number of small but promising devotional articles for private use.

If the time is not yet ripe for an art journal of our own in England, we may well take advantage of that splendid quarterly. Liturgical Arts, the organ of the Liturgical Arts Society of It can be obtained from the office of the Society, 10, Ferry Street, Concord, New Hampshire. The issue for the first quarter of this year, the best so far since the inception, was one of extraordinary interest in that it was devoted to Catholic Art in Missionary Lands, a subject hitherto little known except to specialists, which is at last attracting the attention of European and American students. It is the declared policy of the Holy See to encourage the adaptation of native art to the service of Christianity. The subject has been warmly discussed amongst the missionaries themselves. An important document, issued by Propaganda in 1932, has settled the question of the principles in favour of those who advocated the adoption of native art. With reference to the Church in China the document declares: "It is necessary in fact that the Catholic Church should appear in an attractive form and not as anti-Chinese, and this especially in view of the pagans who are to be converted." Elsewhere the document expresses disapproval of the introduction of Western or classic art: "These forms would naturally stamp the Catholic Church with a foreign aspect which cannot be agreeable to those who have formed their mentality and taste in Eastern lands."

Liturgical Arts reproduces some wonderful photographs of Catholic churches in India and China which are astonishing adaptations of the style of the native temples. In religious painting China and Japan are well in advance of other missionary countries. China has preserved a faint tradition of Catholic painting; in the British Museum there is a delightful Chinese Madonna and Child of the eighteenth century. The fascinating pictures of two modern artists, Luke Ch'en, of the Catholic University, Peking, and the Japanese, Luka Hasegawa, are strongly marked with all those qualities, luminosity, decorativeness, delicacy of colour and line, by which the art of their countries can be so easily recognized, and yet at the same time are unmistakably Catholic: they are in fact Catholic thought, Catholic ideals, expressed in native idiom. The Agony in the Garden, by Luka Hasegawa, is a masterpiece.

There is a wide gap between the art of the Far East and the art of Europea. The Catholic art of European countries has certain qualities in common which have no affinity with the East; the art of one European country can be introduced into the churches of another without startling results, whereas the effect of introducing Chinese or Japanese art would be one of extreme violence. Even so, if the Holy See has thought wise to encourage native art in missionary countries we may take it that those of us who prefer English art for English Catholics

are on safe ground. What Propaganda has said about forms which stamp the Catholic Church with a foreign aspect applies equally well to our own conditions. We are more likely to attract converts by building and furnishing in the traditional styles of old English Catholicism to which our countrymen have always been accustomed, than by borrowing from France and Italy forms which encourage their persuasion that the Church also is a foreign importation.

In the latest number of Liturgical Arts Father Chapman continues his useful articles on the Liturgical Directions of Saint Charles Borromeo. These are well worth studying. Saint Charles was no innovator; he stood for established uses when they were based on authority or truly Catholic custom, and his reforms, descending to the minutest details, were in strict conformity with the Rituale Romanum and the Caeremoniale Episcoporum.

A new monthly magazine of Catholic art, L'Art Sacré, has appeared in France. We hope that the editors will be able to keep subsequent issues up to the high level of the first number, July of this year. This magazine is beautifully illustrated, and the articles deal with both ancient and modern art. In the first number there are two outstanding articles, Esprit Liturgique et Art Moderne, and La Tabernacle liturgique. The former is descriptive of the chapel in the new liner, Normandie. Everything in this chapel was especially designed by two distinguished French artists, Joel and Jan Martel. From the illustrations we can judge how well these modern artists have absorbed the spirit of the liturgy. The carvings in relief are simple, restrained, and of hieratic dignity; while distinctly modern in treatment they are reminiscent of the severe sincerity of early mediæval conceptions, such as we see at Chartres. The vestments are cut correctly ample and supple, but here again the modern note appears in the strikingly original decoration. L'Art Sacré can be obtained from the publishers, 11, Rue de Cluny, Paris 5, at thirty francs per annum. The list of prospective contributors contains many well-known names, such as Paul Claudel, Amedée Gastoué, Chanoine Riviere, R. P. Lhande, Dom Bellot, Chanoine Touzé, Henri Ghéon.

The second book of *Things* for Liturgical and Devotional Use, published by the Guild of St. Joseph and St. Dominic, Ditchling, should help to make better known the excellent work which is being done by this group of Catholic artists and craftsmen. One practical point: beautiful silks and braids, for making vestments, handwoven by Messrs. Kilbride and Brocklehurst, can be obtained from Ditchling at quite reasonable cost.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

BAPTISMAL SPONSOR.

Inasmuch as the law requires, for the validity of the act, that the sponsor should touch the child, it would be convenient to know the correct way of performing this act. (A. C.)

REPLY.

Canon 765, 5, "Ut quis sit patrinus oportet: Baptizandum in actu baptismi per se vel per procuratorem physice teneat aut tangat vel statim levet seu suscipiat de sacro fonte aut de manibus baptizantis." Ordo Administrandi, Rubrics 19 and 21, "Tunc Patrino, vel Matrina, vel utroque (si ambo admittantur) infantem tenente, Sacerdos vasculo, seu urceolo, accipit aquam baptismalem et de ea ter infundit etc. . . . Mox Patrinus, vel Matrina, vel uterque simul, infantem de sacro fonte levant, suscipientes illum de manu Sacerdotis."

The law is perfectly observed if the godparent holds the child during the actual pouring of the water by the priest. The alternative "statim levet seu suscipiat" has reference, it would appear, to baptism by immersion, in which case the sponsor is directed either himself to raise the child from the water or to receive the child, when raised by the priest, from the hands of the priest. The old translation of the Roman Catechism stresses the word "suscipientes" to the extent of describing the sponsor, rather curiously, as an "undertaker."

For various reasons it is sometimes preferable for a nurse or other person to hold the child over the font. The minimum then required for a valid act of sponsorship is for the sponsor to touch the child physically during the act of baptism. The words of the Code "aut tangat," sanctioning this usage, adopt the direction given by S.C. de Propaganda, January, 21st, 1856: "haud susceptio absoluta requiritur, cum tenere aeque intelligatur ac sufficiat si patrinus, ut in more est, physico contactu infantis, jungat se cum eo cuius manibus ille tenetur, et ad aquae infusionem comitetur deferentem, quin opus sit ut patrinus vel matrina tantum, amoto deferente, infantem suas in manus excipiens, sacerdoti baptizandum exhibeat." authors usually recommend that the sponsor should touch the child on the shoulder or on the breast; it suffices if the contact is made over the clothes of the child, or if the sponsor is wearing gloves. It is necessary for both sponsors to touch the child in this manner.

Does it suffice if this touch takes place not during the actual pouring of the water, but immediately before or afterwards? De Smet, quoting S.C. Concilii, December 20th, 1653, affirms that this suffices: "Valet etiam si in patrinum electus prolem

baptizandam e manibus sacerdotis acceperit immediate, licet in ipso actu baptizandi illam non tetigerit. . . . Quinimo probabilius sufficit ut patrinus infantem quem tenet, immediate ante baptismum, baptizanti offerat ac porrigat." This document is not in Gasparri's Fontes, and De Smet, in a folium issued after the Code, directed this note to be deleted for some reason. We think the act to be certainly valid if by "touching afterwards" is meant "lifting from the font or receiving from the minister" as in the latter part of Canon 765, 5, even though this direction refers primarily to baptism by immersion. We think also that a simple touch, either immediately before or after the act of baptism, is probably equivalent to the directions of the canon "in actu baptismi physice tangat," though the point is disputable; the authors we have consulted do not advert to it. Whether valid or not, it is certainly incorrect and the simple directions of the Ordo Administrandi, which are the same as those of the Rituale Romanum, should be exactly observed.

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LEONINE PRAYERS.

Is there an Indulgence attached to these prayers? If so, it would appear that the faithful do not gain the Indulgence unless they actually recite the prayers, since it is the rule that prayers to which indulgences are attached must be said vocally. (R.)

REPLY.

On May 30th, 1934, the Sacred Penitentiary issued a decree stating that the Holy Father had attached to these prayers an Indulgence of ten years "ad incitamentum quoque fidelium qui Missae intersunt, ne ab Ecclesia discedant antequam sacerdos omnia compleverit quae Sacra Liturgia ipsi absolvenda mandat, et antequam ipsi simul cum sacerdote easdem persolverit orationes." The decree stated, further, that the Indulgence of seven years attached by Pius X to the triple invocation "Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on us" remained in force.

The doubt arises from the fact that, in most places, the priest alone recites the prayers. It is true that mental prayer does not, as a rule suffice, though it may be noted that a recent decree of the Sacred Penitentiary, December 7th, 1933, makes an exception for ejaculatory prayers. But Canon 934, §3, resolves this point and the ruling has often been repeated, for example, in the instructions given for prayers to be recited during Jubilees. "Ad indulgentiarum acquisitionem satis est orationem alternis cum socio recitare, aut mente eam prosequi, dum ab alio recitatur."

E. J. M.

¹ De Sacramentis, §345, n. 2.

² Cf. l'Ami du Clergé, 1935, p. 487; Claeys-Bouaert, Vermeersch-Creusen, re. Canon 765, 5.

ROMAN DOCUMENTS

BY THE REV. A. BENTLEY, Ph.D., M.A.

INFORMATIVE PROCESSES SUBMITTED TO ROME.

In these days, the Holy See has to deal with an increasing number of Causes of Beatification and Canonization. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that any Cause which will ultimately be rejected should not be allowed to drag on, but should be disposed of, by searching tests, in the initial stages.

The first stage in Rome is the meeting held to consider the introduction of the Cause, after an informative process has been completed elsewhere. Urban VIII decreed that this question should be decided in a *general* meeting of the S.C. of Rites in presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, all the Consultors as well as the Cardinals voting. In recent times, however, the Holy See has regularly entrusted the decision to the *ordinary* meeting of Cardinals in the absence of the Consultors; and the new procedure has been definitely adopted by canon 2082 of the Code.

A decree dated November 25th, 1931, and published in the Acta for August, 1935, restores something of the older discipline. In future, at the ordinary meeting, in which the informative process is scrutinized, there must be present the Secretary, the Promotor and Sub-Promotor of the Faith, and also the Prelate Officials of the S.C. Each will read a written report, and then the Cardinals will hold their enquiry. The same procedure must be followed in Causes relating to the confirmation of extension of any cultus (A.A.S., XXVII, p. 310).

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE SACRED PENITENTIARY.

The Sacred Penitentiary is the highest tribunal of the internal forum. Its procedure is based on the Constitution In Apostolicae of Benedict XIV. In the year 1917 Benedict XV transferred the control of indulgences to a special Office of the Sacred Penitentiary, thus extending its powers to the external forum, and the double charge is confirmed by the Code, in canon 258. Increased responsibility and the growth of characteristic usages have made it desirable that a new constitution should be drawn up; and this is now accomplished in the Apostolic Constitution Quae divinitus, issued on March 25th, 1935.

The powers and duties of the Cardinal Grand Penitentiary, the Regent and other officials, are determined afresh. Twice each month, the Cardinal Penitentiary has a special audience with the Holy Father to decide questions beyond the ordinary competence of the tribunal. The Regent presides at the daily meeting of each of the two Sections, dealing with cases of the internal forum and with the use or concession of indulgences.

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The major officials are specially convened whenever matters of unusual importance call for more thorough investigation. The Constitution expressly re-affirms the existing law that rescripts concerning the internal forum must be granted gratuitously.

On the death of the Pope, the powers of the Cardinal Penitentiary are extended to cover all cases of conscience which urgently demand solution. A new clause, derogatory to the Constitution Vacante Sede Apostolica authorizes the Cardinal Penitentiary to maintain direct communication with the tribunal by sealed letters even during the Conclave.

The Constitution entered into force on the very day of its publication in the Acta (A.A.S., XXVII, pp. 97-113).

CONDEMNATION BY THE HOLY OFFICE.

The following works have been placed on the Index of Forbidden Books by recent decrees of the Holy Office, dated July 5th and July 19th, 1935 (A.A.S., XXVII, p. 304).

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ANGELO COCLES, Cento e cento e cento e cento pagine del Libro Segreto di Gabriele D'Annunzio tentato di morire. Of this book the decree says that "the shamelessness of its immorality is only matched by its advocacy of errors which are often impious and blasphemous." It is published by Arnold Mondadori, 1935.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit. Eine Antwort auf die Angriffe gegen des "Mythus des 20 Jahrhunderts," Hoheneichen Verlag, München. Herr Rosenberg's Mythus, which he is here trying to defend, was condemned in a previous decree.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Pre-Nicene Church. Papers read at the Summer School of Catholic Studies, held at Cambridge, 1934. (Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. pp. xiv., 280. 7s. 6d.)

The collection of volumes of the Cambridge lectures is rapidly becoming an excellent library of Catholic theology, useful alike to the clergy and to the educated laity. The present volume maintains the sound standard of scholarship that its predecessors have led us to anticipate. The lecturers have been chosen for their competence in their several subjects; and their lectures, when judged in the bulk, are clear, convincing and readable.

The book does not, as its title might suggest, deal merely with the organization of the early Church. It treats of her major doctrines, her history, liturgy and literature, as well as her organization. Much important matter is thus brought together on the kind of society that our Lord intended and the Apostles began to develop, on the Church's relations, both legal and intellectual, with the pagan world, on the apostolicity of the monarchical episcopate, on the Mass and the other Sacraments,

with special reference to the particular problems concerning Penance as administered in those times, on the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation. The value and the purpose of the book lie in its clear evidence that the Catholic Church to-day is one in doctrine and organization with the Church which the Apostles were commissioned to establish, due allowance naturally being made, as the editor is careful to insist in his preface, for the necessary development of doctrine that has taken place between that age and ours.

I have a few criticisms to make. First, the general sketch of the history of the Church from St. Ignatius to Constantine suffers at times from compression, particularly in the description of the Gnostic system and in the accounts of the controversy over Penance and of the relation of St. Cyprian to the Pope; the lecturer has tried to handle too much material in the short time at his disposal. Secondly, the article on the origin of the Episcopate shows very clearly by quotation and inference that the monarchical system of the second century must be apostolic in origin, but is somewhat indefinite when dealing with the New Testament evidence and quite inadequate in its discussion of the difficulties raised by the special position at Alexandria and by the remarks of St. Jerome (and St. John Chrysostom) on bishops. Lastly, no references are made from one article to another when the writers touch on the same subject; but this would be a distinct help to the reader, especially where the writers supplement or oppose one another, as do Fr. Hughes and Fr. Leeming, S.J., over the (so-called) Edict of Callistus.

The book is well printed, with few errors. The only serious slips are on page 156, note 3, where an omitted "not" gives an opposite sense to the one intended, and on page 249: "the procession of the Father from the Son."

J. CARTMELL.

Once again we are indebted to Miss Ida Coudenhove for a beautiful spiritual book.¹ Her present theme is woman's vocation either to religious life in a convent or to a celibate life of social work in the world. It is no comparison between the cloister and the hearth; the vocation to marriage does not appear. She deals with the cloister, first in a warning letter to a girl who imagines that she has a vocation to be a nun, and then in a sympathetic letter to a nun on her profession. The first letter is full of solid wisdom and originality of observation. It demands the consideration of those who may have to direct young women in the determination of a vocation. The second gets to the very roots of the religious vocation, though to me it seems to blur the distinction between the contemplative and active orders.

The third letter, to a girl who has abandoned conventual life,

¹ The Cloister and the World. By Ida Friederike Coudenhove. Sheed & Ward. pp. 110. 35. 6d.

shows her that she has still a definite religious work to do in the world—and that she cannot do it efficiently as long as she still hankers after the externals of her convent existence and hovers between the two conditions of life. This too seems very sane.

The whole idea is illustrated in a valuable essay on Joan of Arc.

I could wish to see such a book bearing an *Imprimatur*—not that I suspect the presence of any theological error, but because the originality of the author's point of view is at times startling. That is perhaps the reason of the book's great appeal, but one may be forgiven for suggesting that one's satisfaction would be enhanced by an official guarantee of its justification.

The translation runs very easily and seldom suggests a foreign idiom; but the capital H for "His" on the seventh line from the bottom of p. 87 is surely misleading, and "variety" on the eighth line of p. 101 is a fairly obvious misprint for "vanity."

This is a book to be read by all who are interested in the religious life, and I am prepared to guarantee that the duty will be found a pleasure: an excellent Christmas gift for any serious-minded and clever girl—and it costs only three-and-six!

T. E. F.

Dollfuss. By Dr. Johannes Messner. (Burns & Oates. 6s. net.)

In Dollfuss Dr. Johannes Messner gives at once an authentic pen-portrait of the late Austrian Chancellor, and a clear exposition of the "Austrian idea," and the conception of the Christian Corporative State, for which ideals his hero lived and died.

Dr. Messner's book is a valuable contribution to the literature of Catholic evidence, because it presents to the world the lifestory and life-work of a modern European statesman whose very being was imbued with the profoundest sense of religion.

In his defence of Austria's independence—so that he might build up a German land "with a social order inspired by the Christian ideal"—Dr. Dollfuss felt that he was treading a path ordained by God. In this spirit he lived happily. For this ideal he died heroically.

Reading Dr. Messner's illuminative narrative, the picture emerges of a man, very human, very likeable, undeniably good, finely courageous, and, above all, devoted to the Catholic Faith; who, without possessing political genius like his great forerunner, the late Mgr. Seipel, yet had the vision to play a vital part at a given moment, and thus made history.

Within the personal framework of the life story of Dollfuss, Dr. Messner deals with a whole range of subjects, explaining the idea and function of the Christian Corporative State, the "Austrian idea," the relation of Austria to Europe as a whole, social justice, and the relation of Church and State.

Reading these pages the Catholic reader will understand why Dollfuss's defence of an independent Catholic Austria against the pagan hordes both of German Nazism and Austrian Marxism was fundamentally a defence of the Christian tradition in European civilization.

C. F. MELVILLE.

Cicero's Milo, a Rhetorical Commentary. By F. P. Donnelly, S.J. (Bruce Publishing Company. viii. +247. Price \$1.24.)

We are told that this book, described by the author as a "rhetorical commentary," is the result of more than twenty-five years of teaching the Oration, and we congratulate Father Donnelly, S.J., on surviving such an ordeal and on the thorough way in which he has explored his material from the particular angle which interests him. The book includes a tabular analysis of the speech, followed by the text (Teubner) and a commentary (not textual); at the end are appreciations, ancient and modern, of Cicero, a few student-imitations of the Ciceronian style and some fifteen general exercises.

The book is outside the tradition of English text-books of the Classics and would not, we imagine, be acceptable in English schools: apparently it is not intended for such, but designed rather for the delectation of those interested in the technique of formal classical rhetoric. Cicero's method and style are analysed very precisely, and all the tricks of his trade exposed and duly ticketed. Accordingly, the book will be very useful to Latinists who would affect wholeheartedly the Ciceronian manner and in a lesser degree to those who would like to fashion modern oratory on the lines of a great classical model.

Whether the art of "rhetorike" is worth the cultivation is a quarrel as old as Plato, and after studying Fr. Donnelly's book, the reader, we think, will take sides violently one way or the other.

A. B. PURDIE.

Therèse of Konnersreuth. By Friedrich Ritter von Lama. Translated by Albert Paul Schimberg. (Bruce Publishing Company, British Agent: Geo. E. G. Coldwell, Ltd. \$1.50.)

This third volume of the chronicle brings the account of the Bavarian stigmatist Therèse Neumann up to date. The eyewitnesess quoted inspire confidence in the accuracy of their observation, but the tone in which opponents are dismissed betrays an asperity which to the reviewer seems out of place in such an inquiry. The English style of the translation leaves much to be desired.

T.E.F.

THE CHURCH AT HOME AND ABROAD

I. FRANCE.

BY DENIS GWYNN, D.Litt.

The inevitable "crisis"—both political and financial—has arisen as December approaches. The direct interests of the Church are not apparently involved, but the whole prospect may have changed by the beginning of 1936. It is impossible that the protracted uncertainty of the past year can be prolonged indefinitely. An open conflict between the forces of Right and Left becomes more probable from month to month; and if the Left triumphs, a revival of anti-clericalism can scarcely be averted. But that is not the same thing as saying that the Church in France must rely for its defence upon association with the Fascist Leagues, who have become increasingly important in the political agitations of the Right.

There is nothing new in a financial crisis arising from unbalanced Budgets. Time after time since the first "boom" of the post-war years ended, one politician or another has been acclaimed as the saviour of France on the verge of bankruptcy. Political convulsions have repeatedly enabled some ambitious or conscientious politician to impose entrenchments or taxation which other politicians had failed to carry; but the drastic remedies have always been modified before they could become effective, and the yearly deficits have continued to mount until half the French Budget is now required to meet the interest charges on public debt. M. Laval has been specially unfortunate in the fact that expenditure on rearmament has increased and requires still more borrowing, while the national revenue is falling as a result of trade depression and will only decline further if taxes are increased.

That situation alone would have produced a crisis, but M. Laval's difficulties are made much worse by the internal conflicts between the Right and Left, which make a National Government almost impossible. One part of his Cabinet demands the suppression of the Fascist Leagues, while another part regards them as the only guarantee of public order and as the soundest force in France on the side of discipline and retrenchment. The conflict is greatly accentuated by the dispute concerning sanctions against Italy; and here also this country is deeply divided. A financial crisis in such conditions involves many special anxieties. The Government must obviously choose between deflation, which will infuriate the working class, or devaluation, which will enrage the peasantry and the small capitalists. Either alternative is likely to provoke sporadic riots, at a time when the Government has lost public confidence;

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sed in ves and foreign politics have added much bitterness to the internal controversies.

It is no wonder that M. Laval is believed to have grown tired of his thankless responsibilities. But he has made his name before now as a negotiator in foreign politics, and the past month has produced possibilities of a new departure. he was Prime Minister before, he did much to establish better relations with Germany; but that partial success was eclipsed, and to some extent frustrated, by his later success in winning the friendship of Italy. Months of dexterous and difficult diplomacy at Geneva have apparently failed to retain the confidence of Italy, and Laval is now obliged to turn towards Germany again. The general elections will be held early in the new year, and the Left groups are believed to intend making a rapprochement with Germany the chief plank in their election programme. That will, of course, mean violent disagreement with the Right in foreign politics, and a definite repudiation of Laval's pro-Italian policy in regard to sanctions. But Laval is one of the most wily politicians of his time, and he will have little difficulty in blaming Italy for any estrangement which may develop in Franco-Italian relations in the near future. He may be thrown over, if the Radical-Socialists can gain sufficient self-confidence to risk voting against him before the elections; or he may continue to preside over a precarious coalition, which will have to adapt its foreign policy to events.

The clash between the Croix de Feu and its opponents at Limoges may soon compel Colonel de la Rocque to adopt more challenging methods. In an open letter to M. Laval at the end of October he protested against the favour shown to his opponents on many occasions, while the Croix de Feu was repeatedly ordered to cancel its demonstrations. He claimed that his men could not travel safely to public meetings, in face of organized opposition, unless they went in large numbers for self-protection; and undoubtedly he has convinced large numbers of people all over France that free speech at public meetings would be impossible if his organization did not exist. this is precisely what every Fascist organization has claimedwhether rightly or wrongly-from Mussolini's blackshirts or Hitler's brownshirts to General O'Duffy's blueshirts in Ireland or Mosley's Fascists in England. Colonel de la Rocque can scarcely hope to convince the millions of voters who detest Fascism that he and his friends are the only people in France who really understand what patriotism means and are alone in trying to restore national unity. Nevertheless, their forces are extremely formidable, and their leadership is resourceful and vigilant. Laval's decrees against them were so drafted that the Colonel has been able to ignore them. If anyone attempts to suppress them by law, they will certainly prove formidable; and as allies to any government which is grappling with a financial crisis they are a powerful though embarrassing reinforcement to the civil power.

II. CENTRAL EUROPE.

By C. F. MELVILLE.

Austria.

The Austrian Government although, since Prince Starhemberg's coup, more Fascist than ever, is not being unmindful of the necessity of bridging the gulf as far as possible between the Régime and Labour.

This point is emphasized in a recent speech by Professor Dobretsberger, the new Minister of Social Welfare, who declared:—

"I should like to declare that it is my serious intention to demonstrate that the policy of the Austrian Government is neither reactionary nor hostile to Labour, and that it is not our intention to weaken in any way the social institutions of the workers. An employer who tries to evade wage agreements or to force his hands to work overtime without due compensation is an enemy of the State and of our work of reconstruction. I pledge my word that whenever cases of unfair treatment are brought to my knowledge, steps shall be taken to see that the rights of the workers are maintained.

"The Government is at present considering the establishment of obligatory courts of arbitration for wage disputes and the imposition of penalties against employers who infringe the collective wage agreements.

"I know that the attitude of a considerable section of our labouring population towards the State is still dictated by a feeling of distrust. I sincerely hope, however, that we shall succeed in our efforts to restore an atmosphere of mutual confidence between Labour and the State—an atmosphere which alone can guarantee both the future of Austria and the improvement of economic conditions upon which Labour like the rest of the community depends. I can assure you that my words express the sincere desire of the Government for reconciliation which will I hope secure a better future for our country."

It is also reassuring to note that Dr. Reither, who was one of the Ministers who was removed from the Cabinet after the Starhemberg coup, and is now again Governor of Lower Austria, has recently received a demonstration of support from the ecclesiastical authorities. Dr. Reither was one of the most important of the Moderate Catholic and democratic elements in the Government, and he has a powerful peasant following. When he left the Government, it was to be feared that the strengthening of the Heimwehr element at the expense of the more moderate and specifically Catholic elements, which his removal from Cabinet office signalized, would lose for the régime a good deal of support amongst the populace.

It is, therefore, to be welcomed that, at a recent meeting of the Lower Austrian Diet, Dr. Reither, in the presence of the new Minister of the Interior, was able to make the following declaration:—

When, over a year ago, he said, he left the Governorship of Lower Austria in order to take over the post of Minister of Agriculture, he found it difficult to leave his Lower Austrian post. He did so, the better to serve his Province by serving the whole State. He now hoped to serve the State as a whole by returning to his work in Lower Austria.

At the same meeting, the Prelate, Dr. Steiner, declared that they all had to look up to Dr. Reither, who was filled with a great love for the Fatherland and was a devout son of the Church. The Clergy, he added, would help Dr. Reither. For they knew that he would not only stand by the Corporations, but also by religion.

Preparations are being actively made for the celebration on December 26th of the birthday of Cardinal Innizer, the Prelate of Austria.

The celebrations will mainly take the form of work on the part of all the Catholic organizations on behalf of the various good works which the Cardinal has specially at heart. These include the collection of funds for the enlargement of the Seminary at Hollabrunn.

Cardinal Innizer, by the way, expressed his appreciation of the good work done by the Catholic publication Wiener Kirchenblatt. Speaking on the occasion of a reception given to Dr. Hörzinger, the founder of the paper, the Cardinal said that in 1918 Dr. Hörzinger conceived the idea of starting this Catholic organ. Through its medium he had done the best Apostolic work through the Press. From small beginnings, seventeen years ago, the paper had grown, both in size and in circulation, and had accomplished increasingly good work. Dr. Hörzinger said that Catholics must be doubly zealous in helping to sell the paper and he complimented the voluntary workers, men and women, who had put themselves out in all weathers to increase its circulation.

Czechoslovakia.

The new Papal Nuncio at Prague, Mgr. Ritter, has brought with him a new Papal Bull by which the definite and final delimitation of the Czechoslovak dioceses will now be made. This represents the final phase of the completion of the *Modus Vivendi*. The changes will apply mainly to Slovakia. The Bull also creates a Slovak Archbishopric, the seat of which will be arranged between the Vatican and the Czechoslovak Government.

Rival claimants are the towns of Nitra and Bratislava. Nitra is the oldest bishopric in Slovakia, and Bratislava is the capital of the Province.

There will also be created an independent Greek-Catholic

Province in that part of Czechoslovakia known as Russian Sub-Carpathia.

By these arrangements also the Archbishopric of Breslau will cease to have jurisdiction over Czechoslovak Silesia; while, on the other hand, Glatz, hitherto administered by the Archbishop of Prague, will henceforth be re-united with Breslau.

Mgr. Ritter is specially fitted to carry out this work, as he previously collaborated closely with the former Nuncio, Mgr. Ciriaci, who played a big part in bringing about the *Modus Vivendi*. He will be assisted by Mgr. Panico, who, for some time, was Papal Chargé d'Affairs at Prague.

The meeting of Czechoslovak bishops held at Olomouc last October decided to ask the International Committee of the Eucharistic Congress that they should choose Prague as the venue for the next Eucharistic Congress. They were encouraged to make this *démarche* by the considerable success which attended the last National Catholic Congress held in the Czechoslovak capital.

Yugoslavia.

A new Catholic Church was inaugurated recently at Ravna Reka, near Paracin, by Mgr. Roditch. It is said to be the most beautiful Catholic Church in Serbia proper. Ravna Reka is the centre of a colony of Catholic miners.

Mgr. Roditch also recently presided at the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Parish of Notre Dame de l'Assomption at Cottage Neimar. It is now ten years since the Pères Augustins de l'Assomption, of French nationality, founded in the new quarter of Belgrade a chapel for the Catholic faithful in the capital.

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REVIEWS FROM ABROAD

In Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift (n. 4) Fr. P. G. Oesterle, O.S.B., gives a useful commentary on the Canon Law regarding the acceptance of a stipend when a second Mass is being said on the same day. The law of Canon 824 admits of exception only on some title extrinsic to the actual Mass offering; also, of course, an exception exists whenever an indult has been obtained, and the author gives examples of these documents. In the same number Dr. Hermann Stieglecker discusses the special difficulties existing in those mission fields which are under the sway of Islam, and Dr. Aufhauser has a very interesting and topical article enumerating the various Saints reckoned as special patrons during time of war.

ANTONIANUM prints the concluding article by Fr. Clement Chartier, O.F.M., on the meaning and effects of excommunication as drawn from the writings of Tertullian. Secret sins appear never to have been subject to excommunication: Tertullian, at least, says nothing about them-" de internis non judicat praetor." It is worth noting that public penance, with which the idea of excommunication is closely connected, is considered not so much a punishment as a remedy, and this notion is now dominant in modern canon law in the definition of a "censure." The penitential discipline, as outlined by Tertullian, is identical in all its essentials, with the ideas accepted in our own day concerning the Sacrament of Penance.

In Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (n. 4) Fr. Josef Linder, S.J., of Innsbruck, writes a lengthy study on the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel, and Fr. Joseph Butler, S.J., expounds the theories concerning the liturgy and the Mass which have become associated with the school of Maria Laach, Die This subject has been Musterienthese der Laacher Schule. thoroughly examined recently in PERIODICA DE RE CANONICA ET Morali by Fr. J. M. Hanssens, S.J.

Jus Pontificium (fasc. 3.) contains a criticism by Dr. Crnica pointing out the deficiencies of the Code in the rules it provides for establishing a querela nullitatis in judicial processes. is not the only point in which the Codex is obscure. The author reminds us that the Justinian Code, promulgated in 529, was emended and promulgated again in 534, and he expresses the wish of certain canonists that the same process of emendation and fresh promulgation should be applied to our Code. historical and juridical account of the Diocesan Synod is provided by Dr. A. Villien. Amongst the shorter discussions in this excellent periodical, Dr. Osterle concludes his plea for the view that bad faith in giving guarantees for a Mixed Marriage dispensation invalidates the grant. Dr. Toso, the editor, adds a criticism opposing these conclusions, and his view seems to us to be the correct one.

Those who are particularly interested in secondary education will find much useful material in a long-established Review-ENSEIGNEMENT CHRÉTIEN ET STUDIA. The October number contains a bibliography of works published between July, 1934,

and April, 1935, which are of value for scholastic use in the study of English literature, and there are similar bibliographies in other departments. The modernity of Greek and Latin humanism is the subject of a paper read at the 1935 Budé Congress.

In Missiology the best learned Review is, perhaps, Le Bulletindes Missions, edited from the Abbey of Saint André. The current number (June-September, 1935) contains an account of the Chinese mission field, occasioned by the priestly ordination, during June of this year, of a Benedictine monk, Celestine Lou Tseng-Tsiang, who was formerly Prime Minister of the Chinese Republic. It is rightly said that June 29th, 1935, will be reckoned a new date in the religious history of the Chinese people and of the Catholic Church in the Far East. A well-informed article on the religious and social condition of Abyssinia provides further matter of topical interest, and the affairs of missions in various parts of the world are duly recorded. The illustrations to both of these articles are excellent.

The November number of LA VIE SPIRITUELLE, as is fitting, is largely devoted to the dead. The late Fr. A. Lemonnyer, O.P., urges people, whilst they are alive, to have Masses said to obtain them the grace of a good death. A biographical note, edited by M. Henri Ghéon, gives us some unpublished fragments from the Carnet Spirituel of Mireille Dupouey, Une épouse devant la mort.

REVUE LITURGIQUE AND MONASTIQUE (n. 7) opens with an article by Fr. D. Bodart on the Communion of Saints demonstrating again, with a certain freshness of outlook, the importance of this doctrine as the basis of prayer for the dead. Dr. Becker gives us the substance of the papers read at the eighteenth annual liturgical week held at Louvain during the summer of this year. The stress was placed on the value of the liturgy in developing the interior life. Those who know Belgium will appreciate the advances made in popularizing the liturgy during the last two decades, and we may hope for the same results in this country, where we have for the first time held, this year, a liturgical week based on the many Continental models which have become so well established abroad.

From the Abbey of Mont César, Louvain, is edited a Quarterly Review entitled Les Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales. As the title indicates, its outlook is popular rather than scholastic, but there is always something of value even for the scholar. The number for October, for example, contains a well-documented study by Fr. F. Nogues on the Origins of Advent. But its main preoccupation is with the practical affairs of the parish formed on liturgical lines. Fr. Romeyer, S.J., explains how the Liturgy may be used in conveying religious instruction to adults. M. de Jong writes on the more difficult task of instructing children; he sees the chief difficulty in providing instructors who are themselves liturgically minded.

The various collections of Diocesan Conferences again offer

much useful material. COLLATIONES BRUGENSES (September-October) contains a commentary on the account of Our Lord's Ascension in Acts i. 9-11; a canonical article on the sort of medical practice which is forbidden the clergy, and a liturgical study of the Breviary hymns for Ferial Vespers.

Collationes Namurcenses gives a comprehensive survey of the duties of the minister of Extreme Unction, by Dr. Koerperich, and the historical series of articles on Vespers is continued.

In Collectanea Mechlinensia Dr. Mesmaecker puts some new life into the old discussion concerning the morality of the external act. Dr. Gillet elucidates the very difficult question of how the loss of a domicile and quasi-domicile is effected. In some notes, entitled Choses Matrimoniales, Dr. Gougnard touches on many things of interest: the recently-published analysis of matrimonial causes before the Rota during the last year; the necessity of a prudent reserve in promulgating the new doctrine of the Safe Period; some problems of marriage and the family in foreign missions.

ENGLISH REVIEWS.

THE MONTH, November: Michael de la Bedoyére, What is a Catholic Press?; F. C. Coppleston, Russia's Awakening.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, October: P. McKevitt, The Jews in Christendom; Peregrinus, The Anti-Catholic Movement in Germany; T. A. Murphy, Mission Sunday.

THE HOMILETIC AND PASTORAL REVIEW, October: Charles Bruehl, Christian Sociology; C. C. Martindale, Nature Supernaturalized; E. L. Hughes, A Papal Plan for Safeguarding Youth.

CATHOLIC MEDICAL GUARDIAN: R. G. Cookson, Mettray; A Warning re the Sterile Period.

E. J. M.

A welcome is due to a new Catholic periodical THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY which is to take the place of the Eastern numbers of Pax. The editor, as before, is Dom Bede Winslow, O.S.B., and he has as his assistant Mr. Donald Attwater who is well known as a writer on topics connected with the Christian East. Articles will be devoted to the study of the Eastern Liturgies and to questions of historical and theological interest. At the same time, present-day conditions and contemporary events will receive the attention due to them. Translations of important articles from Continental reviews will appear from time to time. The first number will be published in January and the subscription price is two shillings (U.S.A. one dollar). All subscriptions and enquiries should be addressed, to the Editor, The Eastern Churches Quarterly, St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate.

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